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COLONIALISM—I

HOW IT ALL BEGAN

WHILST THE CRUSADES (1096-1291) had turned Western Christendom to the East, the Mongols turned the East to the Christian West. The Mongol Empire, let us remind ourselves, was set up by Genghis Khan (1206-1227). One of his grandsons, Batu, established the Tatar Dominion which included Kiev, Moscow and Western Siberia. Another grandson, Mongka, founded a Chinese dynasty which lasted from 1280 to 1368—Cathay, with its capital Khanbalik (i. e. Peking). A third, Hülagü, took over the caliphate of Baghdad, as Mongka's successor had taken over the empire of the Sung emperors of China. Il Khan of Iran set up his capital in Täbris and married a Nestorian Christian. This grandiose empire of the Mongols (does it, one wonders, inspire Stalin?), including Tartary, Cathay and Iran, was naturally anti-Moslem and pro-Christian. It was in this first period of their empire that the Mongols entertained friendly relations with the Pope; that St. Louis, King of France, in 1253, sent William Ruysbroek, O.P., to the Emperor Mongka; that John of Monte Corvino, O.F.M., became Archbishop of Cambaluk in 1307; that the Polo brothers and their nephew made their famous business trips from Venice to Cathay between 1260 and 1294.

All this flourishing intercourse, both of a spiritual and a commercial nature, came to an end with the islamization, first of Inner Asia, and finally of all the Mongol dominions, save China. Timur Lenk ("Tamurlane"), 1365-1405, was a fanatical Moslem convert, whilst in China a native Chinese dynasty, the Ming, had overthrown the Mongols, reversing all their policies and destroying all Western influence. This sudden cutting off of the East naturally was not calmly acquiesced in by the West. Venetian merchants began to trade by way of Alexandria with the new Moslem Power that had pushed itself in as an intermediary and successfully barred direct access to both China and

India, an alternative which, however, obviously was a mere *pis aller*.

Portuguese Ingenuity

If the overland route had been rendered impassable, was an all-sea route perhaps not feasible? This idea took shape in Portugal—the home of hardy Atlantic mariners who had driven the last of the Moslem conquerors out of their own country in 1267, since which time the frontiers of Portugal have remained what they are today, surely a unique feature. Under King Dinis (1279-1325), the national life of the Portuguese was formed and the fleet reorganized, being placed under an admiral of Genoese birth. Shut out by Spain from embroilment in European affairs, Portugal's only outlet lay on the Atlantic. The genius to turn this opportunity into an actuality, which was to revolutionize the whole world, was the royal *iffante*, Henrique el Navegador, who, born 1394, died in 1460.

It was this Prince Henry who conceived the plan of reaching the East and falling in the Moslem enemy's rear by sailing south along the African coast, thus reviving an original attempt made in 1291 by the Vivaldi brothers of Genoa, who had wished thus to outflank the Venetian monopoly. Setting up a "nautical institute" at Sagres (Cape St. Vincent), the *Iffante* directed from there the systematic exploration of the southern seas. The first-fruit of this enterprise was the occupation of the Atlantic Islands (Madeira in 1420, the Azores in 1439, the Cape Verde Islands in 1447), which thus became the first "colonies" of our modern world. But the chief objective was the mainland of Africa. Doubling Cape Bojador in 1434, the Portuguese expected that the coastline would soon turn eastward, somewhat parallel to the Mediterranean, thus affording ships a quick voyage to somewhere near Abyssinia (which was known to be a Christian Kingdom) and the Indian

Ocean. In fact, when in 1445 Cape Verde was passed, the Senegal River was believed to be, and was called, the Western Nile.

The Pope (Martin V) appointed Prince Henry Grand Master of the Order of Christ, an offshoot of the Knights Templar, which had been given asylum by King Dinis and was reconstituted as a Portuguese *Militia Christi*, in consideration of their active support against the Moors, who then still held Algarve. It was this Knightly Order which financed all the Iffante's explorations, there being at least one *miles* in each expedition, which was otherwise composed of a rather mixed company. The red cross of the Militia was painted on the white sails of the caravels, sent into the unknown. It was, therefore, primarily as a crusade in furtherance of the high ideals of breaking the Moslem strangle-hold on the East, and of evangelizing the pagan lands that might be discovered on the way thither, that the ventures were undertaken, which were to issue eventually in the colonial expansion of Europe in modern times. The Bull, *Romanus Pontifex*, of Pope Nicholas V in 1454 granted Portugal the sole right of conquest and commerce south of Cape Bojador in respect to all *Sarracenos et Infideles*, and urged all Christians to help in finding a sea-route to India. A bull of Pope Callistus III in 1455 specified that all newly discovered lands would be *nullius dioecesis* and subject to the Order of Christ.

Slavery

From the first, however, this colonial expansion was involved with slavery. The Rio do Oura (on the mainland, south of Cape Bojador) had been discovered in 1436; and in 1442 ten black slaves, some gold dust and ostrich eggs had been brought back from there to Portugal. The blacks were, of course, not natives of the country (peopled by Berbers), but had been traded. Thus began a profitable commerce in slaves and other commodities between Portuguese and Berbers. A trading company (the first!) was chartered in Lagos, "to promote the barter of negroes, gold and various merchandise," the company exporting corn, cloth and silver. The slaves were wanted as laborers in the depopulated country district of Portugal. Their treatment was good, since there was no racial antagonism. The Negroes were all instructed in the Christian religion. One out of the very first group became a Franciscan friar. The number of slaves annually brought in began with a hundred and rose to eight hundred. The

Order of Trinitarians, originally founded (1198) for the redemption of Christian slaves, now purchased the freedom of many of these negro slaves. This work of mercy appealed to many pious people, so that they would, for instance, bequeath money for this purpose. In any case, the Negroes married Portuguese wives and thus were completely absorbed in the general population.

When the Iffante died in 1460, the then reigning King Afonso V (1438-1481), took up the policy initiated by the Navigator Prince, making himself personally responsible for financing the ventures. By 1471 the Gold Coast had been discovered and a lucrative trading post, called El Mina, was established there for a rapidly growing trade in slaves, gold and ivory. In the year following, friendly commercial relations were established with the Negro Kingdom of Benin. To build up these peaceful connections, King Afonso issued a formal decree in 1474, forbidding all violence and warlike action, whether against Moors or Negroes, except with his special permission.

King John II (1481-1495) was even more energetic in pushing exploration than was his father, whom he succeeded. In 1482 the mouth of the Congo had already been reached, and the Negro Kingdom discovered there in 1490 received a religious mission. The King was baptized and the Dominicans built him a fine stone cathedral. Meanwhile, Bartolomeu Dias had received strict orders in 1487 to push on and get in contact with "Prester John." Pedro da Covilha simultaneously was sent on an overland journey by way of Egypt to the east coast of Africa and Abyssinia. In 1488, Dias had actually rounded the southernmost tip of Africa, Cape Agulhas, and sailed as far as Mossel Bay. But since the coast ran due east and not north, as expected, his men mutinied and forced Dias to return to Lisbon. At the audience, at which the King received Dias and a report of his failure, there was present one C. Columbus, who found in this failure fresh arguments for his theory, that a quicker way to reach India would be to sail straight westward, instead of pursuing this wild-goose chase to the south. Unable to persuade the Portuguese, Columbus turned to the Spanish King, with the result in 1492 which opened the Western Hemisphere to the expansionism of Europe. By a special treaty between Portugal and Spain (the Treaty of Tordesillas) a demarcation line was fixed in 1494 between the two colonial empires at 370

reagues west of the Cape Verde Islands—a line which left the Portuguese discoveries of Brazil, Newfoundland and Greenland within the Portuguese sphere of influence.

Vasco da Gama

With the death of King John in 1495 and the accession of Manoel I, the preparatory period may be said to have come to an end. What lay now before King Manoel's men were no further geographical discoveries, but the seizure of the commerce of the Indian Ocean, the wresting of it from Moslem hands and the eliminating of all the middle-men in the Levant and Italy, who had hitherto skimmed the cream off this fabulously rich trade with the Indies and Far East. The man charged with this mission was Vasco da Gama, who set out in 1497, and within a year had landed at Calicut on the Malabar Coast of India. To do so, he had steered straight from Cape Verde to Table Bay without sighting land, a distance of 3,770 miles as compared to the 2,600 miles traversed by Columbus from Cartagena to the Bahamas.

The foreign trade of the whole East was then in Arab hands and had its center at Calicut, whither came a fleet of Chinese junks once a year. Malacca had become the principal center for collecting spices from Indonesia; from Ormuz to Sofala ran political no less than commercial threads, all in Arab hands. The main line of traffic ran by way of Aden to Cairo and Alexandria, but an additional route went overland from Ormuz to Aleppo and Beirut. Manoel's one idea now was to get this trade into his hands before the Spaniards got there. He sent out a fully armed squadron, 13 vessels and 1,500 men, in the year 1500, followed by more each succeeding year, thereby swiftly establishing Portuguese supremacy in these waters, so that already in 1502 Pope Alexander VI acknowledged King Manoel as "Lord of the Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of India, Ethiopia, Arabia and Persia."

Portuguese Colonial Empire

Manoel now decided to supersede the policy of stationing a few Portuguese "factors" (i.e., traders) in the East and of sending out an annual squadron by the new policy of permanently occupying strategic points and placing them under a Viceroy, resident in the East. Fortresses with a Portuguese garrison were established at Kilwa (East Africa), Cochin, Cananore and Anjadive

(on the West Coast of India) in 1504. Both the fleets of the Zamorin of Calicut and of the Caliph of Egypt (who had come to his aid) were destroyed; an offensive on land against the Sultan of Bijapur (1510) gained Goa, which became the capital of the Viceroy; Malacca was captured in 1511; a fort was built in Ceylon in 1518 and at Ternate in 1521. At the death of Manoel in the latter year, an astounding Portuguese colonial empire, dominating Asia and Africa, had become an accomplished fact.

This empire had been systematically and laboriously prepared; but the military valor and nautical skill with which it was seized were certainly marvelous. Granted that their artillery was superior, the fact remains that, with ridiculously little caravels of 150 tons and handfuls of men, they did what all the Crusades had failed to do: they broke the Moslem power. The Turk still advanced in Europe until the showdown before the gates of Vienna in 1683, but he had been beaten at his source, in Asia, and there he was kept checkmated. It is instructive to enumerate the factories and forts which constituted the far-flung empire of Portugal centering upon Goa. On the east coast of Africa: Sofala,* Mocambique,* Kilwa, Mombaca, Malindi. On the Persian Gulf: Mascot, Ormuz. In India: Diu,* Damaun,* Bassein, Chaul, Mangalore, Cananore, Calicut, Cranganore, Cochin, Negapatam, Mylapur, Chittagong. In Ceylon: Galle, Colombo. On the Malay Peninsula: Tenasserim, Malacca. In China: Macao,* Liangpo, Chinchin. In Indonesia: Pacem (Sumatra), Bantam (Java), Timor,* Macassar, Amboina, Ternate. Such was the first colonial empire of history, constituted in less than a century, when in 1580 Philip II of Spain annexed Portugal and turned it into a Spanish province. Whereupon the empire collapsed, so that today nothing remains of it but the places I have marked with an asterisk (*).

"Pepper and Souls"

When the Portuguese came East, their cry was: "Pepper and Souls!" On this weird mixture of apostolic idealism and filthy concupiscence they established their empire. Adventurers, convicts, vagrants, the work-shy, failures and undesirables of all sorts flocked to the *Conquista*; but they rationalized all by the ideal of being crusaders. They ruthlessly christianized and Portugalized the people of the territories they conquered; for to them the two were one. But they never dis-

tinguished between black and white, however much they discriminated between Christian and infidel, a principle of colonial rule, which has assured Portugal the affection of its colonial subjects in a manner which no other colonial power has ever been able to equal.

Portuguese Hegemony

The economic success of this Portuguese colonial adventure was such as to cause a complete revolution in trade and a startling shift in political power. Without any direct attack on them, simply by diverting the Eastern trade from the Levant to Lisbon, Portugal had left high and dry Venice, Genoa, Florence and all the great city-States of Italy. Italy ceased to be the leading country of Europe. The center of gravity shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. Lisbon of the 16th century was a city of fabulous wealth—the richest

city of Europe. As a distributing center for northern Europe, Antwerp became a sort of branch office of it. The success of the Portuguese is all the more remarkable, because they were a small nation of only 1½ million, inhabiting a fertile and rather under-populated country. There was no material reason, no "economic necessity," no "geopolitical law," which forced them to expand. The fount and origin of the expansion was psychological—the ideal of the crusade; its efficient cause, a single personality—the Iffante. At the final paradox is that Portugal remained great and kept its empire only as long as it remained a small country. Within the short sixty years (1580-1640) that it became part of the Spanish world-empire, where the sun never set, its own empire vanished like fairy gold.

(To be continued)

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS, PH.D.

HISTORY AND THE STAR OF HOPE

The Forgotten Cause of Our Joy

SECUlar MERRIMENT this time of year too often puts the Sacred Mystery of the Incarnation out of mind, and hollow laughter too easily obscures the sources of deep spiritual joy. For, while the Western world celebrates the Feast of Christmas with much feasting, we know that all this elaborate glitter is but the brittle camouflage of a desperation and despair in the hearts of men. There is a reappearance of the pagan *carpe diem* attitude among those who feel that "to think is to be full of sadness and leaden-eyed despair." A sort of unformulated fatalism seems to have gripped the hearts of men in the presence of global menaces.

Among the cultured there is an unhealthy preoccupation with philosophies of history which stretch their various theories of Determinism to the limits of Stoical despair. Thus we have writers like Joseph Wood Krutch telling us rather languidly in *The Modern Temper*: "The world may be rejuvenated in one way or another, but we will not. Skepticism has entered too deeply into our souls ever to be replaced by faith, and we can never forget the things which the new barbarians will never need to have known." The uncritical and cultured alike seem to have accepted the notion that history is repeating itself, that nothing

can stay the course of inevitable doom. And all the while the real and radiant cause of joy remains unnoticed by those most in need of such assurance. In such a menaced hour as this, God entered human history, and, as it were, took the situation in hand and saved the culture of His choice from the fatal cycle of repetitive destiny. The happiness of Christmas is based, not on facile hilarity, but on firm hope in God Who so loved the world that He chose to become involved in its complex history.

Our Privileged Culture

By the fact of the Incarnation an immense privilege of divine election was conferred on the Greco-Roman tradition of which we are the inheritors and upholders. There had been numerous other cultures—historians such as Toynbee reckon there were more than twenty—some more rich and powerful; but this civilization, having its deepest roots in Greece and now predominantly Western, was chosen to be the garment of the Mystical Body. Greek and Latin became the language of the Church, and the great Roman roads, which radiated through all the known world, were at the service of those who went forth to preach the Gospel to every creature. Other cultures did, as Spengler cleverly demonstrated, obey very similar patterns of growth, maturity and

decay, and history appeared as an affair of concentric cultural circles. But when Christ chose the Western culture, He directed history on a straight path. The whole Christian concept of spiritual perfection, which the secular world has adapted as the ideal of endless progress, is that of a straight line. Once the Star of Bethlehem appeared, human culture, which had been running round in fatalistic circles, hitched its wagon to it, and urged itself forward, as no other culture had done, towards the ideal of perfectibility.

God's Entry

God is not merely for us the Omnipotent One, the Sovereign Lord of Heaven and Earth. He is also the God Who entered our human story and became its chief Actor in a time of crisis. At a very definite time and place, God in Christ, by emptying Himself, took the form of a servant, of One obedient to His Own laws and the many burdens of human mortality. His Coming had been long delayed, and passed almost unnoticed because the Chosen People had come to think in terms of world empires and imperial power after the manner of other cultures. Nevertheless, God chose the manner and moment of His entry, and the uniqueness of the Incarnation was a lucid sign that the events of human history were thereafter to be unique. That aspect of the Nativity is most appropriate to our age. It is one of the many facets of that Mystery flashed to us now with almost dazzling import.

Tattered Utopianism

As the belief in Progress waned after World War I, and was bitterly ridiculed after World War II, men of a serious turn of mind began to examine the title-deeds of certain optimistic notions. It was generally agreed that history held the key to the baffling complexities of a world in chaos. The fair and fantastic Utopias written in the mood of H. G. Wells have crumbled, and *Mind at the End of its Tether* stands as a pathetic epitaph over the shattered scientific dreams of the Babel builders of a scientific civilization who believed they could do without God. There was a curious fallacy of reasoning held by these Utopians and still wildly adhered to by the Communists, that once the wave of history has been brought to a certain desirable point—a painless scientific Paradise in one case, and a Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the other—the last wave will suddenly remain petrified and immovable like a

mountain. God is to be left out of the picture, or rather out of the machine, for both attitudes are crudely mechanistic. History does not obey the law of man's desires, nor does the course, even of cyclic history, stop for the convenience of Commerce or Communism.

Hope from Hippo

"The hypothesis of Providence is the condition of intelligible history." That phrase of Brunetière, had its deep implications been studied, would have saved many of our exasperated historians from the tedium of searching for an intelligible pattern underlying the events of time. Philosophies of history, which so readily cast our Christian culture on the same cosmic scrap-heap with all the other past cultures, ignore the central fact that ours is a unique civilization, whose starting-point was the greatest event in all history—the Incarnation. In a time heavier with doom even than our own, and when the enemy was, in a very literal sense, at the gates, and when it seemed that all the magnificence of Graeco-Roman culture would be mutilated and erased forever from the memory of man as other dimly rumored cultures had been, the great St. Augustine wrote his monumental *De Civitate Dei* in a spirit of calm and courageous optimism. He rejected the theory of cyclic recurrence in history. Christ, he said, was the straight way by which the mind escaped from the circular maze of pagan thought. *Viam rectam sequentes, quae nobis est Christus, eo duce et salvatore a vano et inepto impiorum circuitu iter fidei mentemque avertamus.* (Quoted by Christopher Dawson in *A Monument to St. Augustine*).

It is well to correct our perspective by recalling that memorable sentence written fifteen centuries ago. It has been the Catholic attitude to history all the while, and needs to be emphasized with the greatest possible insistence in these days of doleful prophecies. No fatalistic attitude is possible to those who have once seen that that course of history, since God's participation in it, is in His Hand "Who said, 'A whole I planned'." History can no longer be viewed as a dreary threadmill in which man's generations shuffle round in circles of infernal doom. It has become a pilgrimage ("a human caravan", according to De Plessis), in which all the participating nations are led by the light of that same constant Star which drew the Magi to the goal of the intimate Presence of God.

LIAM BROPHY
Dublin, Eire

CATHOLIC HOLLAND

THIS YEAR I visited Holland twice, spending some weeks there in order to find out the present position of Catholicism in that country. My chief area of interest was the Catholic southern Provinces, North Brabant and Limburg. In Northern Brabant, Catholics form 89.4% (1,055,320) of the population, and in Limburg, 98.5% (646,717). In general, Catholics make up about 38.5% (3,703,572) of the population of Holland. This proportion is much higher among the children. Some informed persons estimate that at present a little more than half of the Dutch children are Catholics.

The smallest Catholic population, six per cent, is in Groningen, the northern-most province of the country. However, in two key provinces, North and South Holland, the faithful number more than a quarter of the population, 559,951 (29.4%) and 559,304 (24.5%) respectively. Their number is also high in such cities as Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague: 137,453 (23.6%), 135,035 (20.9%) and 152,295 (28.6%). Ninety-five per cent of the Catholics in Holland are listed as regular communicants.

Politics and Protestants

Politically the Catholics of the Netherlands are organized into a powerful party which has had influence in the Government for many years and has often led them by way of providing the Prime Minister. The Governments are generally a rather unstable coalition of the Catholics, Labor and Protestants. The Protestant parties are the Conservative right, the Socialists are the left and the Catholics form the centre. Among the ruling circles the Catholics are very influential. Their schools enjoy State assistance, as do even some of the clergy after a fashion. There is no discrimination against Catholics. In fact, Protestants and others are rather afraid of them, because they have gradually become a majority. However, Protestants are unwilling to federate with free-thinkers and atheists in order to reduce the Catholic strength. The country has its Communists, but they have little influence.

The Reformation

The Reformation, so called, was hard on the Dutch Catholics. The Northern Protestant Dutch in their struggle with Spain for independence were

apt to consider the Dutch Catholics as fifth columnists, potential traitors to their cause. Besides being uncompromising Calvinists, they considered Catholicism as deadly a perversion of Christianity as idolatry. In consequence, they oppressed the Dutch Catholics wherever and whenever they could, particularly during the bloody war with Spain. With the peace of Münster in 1648, the Dutch Catholic provinces of North Brabant and Limburg definitely passed under the domination of the Protestant Dutch. The latter introduced in the newly-acquired provinces penal laws against Catholics, more or less on the English pattern. Catholics were prohibited from occupying any official position in civil or military service, or in municipalities and towns. They were restricted in education, and even in the freedom of worship. Strenuous efforts were made to convert them to Protestantism, but without much success. The Dutch penal system, however, was never so ferocious and thorough-going as in England or Ireland. The oppression gradually diminished during the tolerant and skeptical eighteenth century.

The French conquest of Holland by the Revolutionary army swept away all religious discrimination. When the Kingdom of Netherlands was created in 1814, the anti-Catholic legislation was not revived. The long and odious persecution united the Southern Dutch around the Catholic Church as it did the Southern Irish.

Parallel with Ireland

There are many curious similarities between Holland and Ireland. In both countries the South is fervently Catholic while the North is Presbyterian, with a growing admixture of free-thought and religious indifferentism. In Holland, as in Ireland, the Protestants dominated the Catholics for centuries, persecuted them a great deal, but failed to change their Faith. Now the position has changed. The Catholics do not only dominate in Eire, but are in the process of becoming a majority in Ulster as well. In Holland likewise, a Catholic majority is only a question of time. The Southern Dutch are as devout and church-going as the Southern Irish. In every town and village one sees immense, often beautiful, Catholic churches. For the most part they are new, because the old churches are retained by the

Protestants—again as in Ireland. Every Sunday and feast day these big churches are overcrowded with worshippers. In the towns there are generally four Masses on weekdays. These daily Masses are well attended, but not to the same extent as in Ireland. Priests, religious and sisters are to be met everywhere.

Like Ireland, Holland sends its priests to the countries where they are needed. In France alone there are from six to nine Dutch priests in every diocese, several hundred altogether. The Dutch have their own vast missionary society, the Society of the Divine Word, which maintains missions all over the world. Thousands of Dutch religious and sisters are professed in the various orders and work in their missions throughout the world. The Catholic schools, hospitals and charities flourish exceedingly. The Dutch are very generous. They contribute more per person to the Catholic Church and its missions than does any other country. They have often as many as five special collections in their churches. Neither the Liturgical Movement, nor Reunion with the Christian East, nor Catholic Action is neglected. In this they differ from Ireland, where such things are hardly known.

Catholics in Holland publish 38 dailies and a profusion of weekly and monthly reviews. No Catholic country can compete with them in this respect. The Dutch Catholics have their own farmers and workers associations, although they are neither as wealthy nor as powerful as in Belgium. The Dutch Catholic Trade Unions number 300,000 members. Moreover, the Dutch Catholic intellectuals are well organized. There is a Catholic University in Nimwegen and several Catholic publishing houses for higher learning. Catholic activities help to keep people in the Church, while the Protestants have lost 17.3% of their followers during the last 50 years. There are now 1,600,000 agnostics and atheists in Holland, eight times more than in 1899.

Population Pressure

Catholics need all these activities because Holland is now going through hard times. Advanced socialist and irreligious ideas have gradually spread over the whole country. Ten thousand people are lost to unbelief every year. In Amsterdam alone, 40% of the Catholics have ceased to go to church.

The journey from the wealthy Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, a happy little German country, to

Holland, by way of Belgium, provides a strong contrast. On one side of the border can be seen big, shining cars de luxe, well-dressed crowds, magnificent overcrowded restaurants with plenty of everything. On the other side one can view hordes of cyclists, cheaply-dressed people, simpler and poorer food. Belgium is the only country in the world which is a creditor to America and a debtor to none. It is one of the five countries with free currency. The Belgian wage scale is the highest in Europe and so is the standard of living.

Another strong impression is the indubitable over-population of Holland. After the sparsely populated Luxemburg and Belgian Wallonie, the over-crowding of Holland surprised me. Trains, buses, stations, shops and streets are crowded with people to an extent to be wondered at. I saw children everywhere, of both sexes and all ages. The Dutch Catholic families are large; five or six children are the rule, ten or twelve are common and twenty per family are not unknown. The people have a correct conscience in regard to sinful birth prevention. Nowhere in Western Europe did I see such a multitude of children, certainly not in the Catholic Ireland, Belgium, England, Luxemburg or France. The Dutch population increases every year by 100,000. Catholic Youth organizations number 400,000 members.

Holland with its population in excess of ten million, is, no doubt, overpopulated for its available resources. If France were as densely populated as Holland, it would have over 160 million instead of 41 million. Belgium, with nearly equal territory, has about 9 million inhabitants. But the Belgian resources are so much greater. The country has plenty of coal, long-established heavy industry, forests, water power and highly productive soil in addition to its customs and monetary union with the wealthy Luxemburg, not to mention the untold, colossal richness of the Congo.

Loss of Indonesia

The vast fortune and high standard of living in the pre-war Holland were made possible because for three centuries the Dutch had a virtual monopoly of trade and exploitation of the immensely rich Indonesia, sixty times larger than Holland. The Japanese conquest of that country resulted in the resurgence of a strong native nationalism. The Indonesians, so long dominated and exploited by the Dutch, wanted to be mas-

ters in their own house. Instead of freely giving them their full independence, as the British did in India, Pakistan and Ceylon, thus preserving good-will, valuable connections, etc., the Dutch tried to reduce the Indonesians to their former status with insignificant modifications. They failed. In the end Indonesia became independent, but suspicious and hostile to the Dutch. While there are now more British in India than ever before, although in different capacities than formerly, the Indonesians do not allow more than 1,000 Dutch to enter their country a year.

Post-War Economy

The loss of Indonesia was a great disaster to the Dutch. Besides, Holland was badly devastated during the last war and thoroughly looted by the Nazis. While the British workers do not yet realize the seriousness of their position, the Dutch do. The systematic emigration of the surplus population to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Brazil and France is well organized. Dutch wages are much lower than in Belgium and social services are less costly. This serves to encourage the Belgian capitalists to build big factories in the Dutch southern provinces, where there are plenty of workers and low wages.

The difficulties of the Dutch would almost be solved, if Belgium and Luxemburg would agree to accept them as full members of their union. They are, however, very serious difficulties. A customs union makes little sense unless it is followed by a monetary union. The latter, however, is possible only if all the contracting parties follow the same economic policy. The Belgians stand for freedom of private enterprise, minimum of State intervention in the country's economic life, free currency, high wages, independently organized social services, etc., while the Dutch, like the British, are inclined to nationalization of major industries, strict supervision of economic activities, managed currency, regulated wages and State social services. The highly prosperous Belgians will not concede a point in their demands, which they consider reasonable, while the Dutch have vested interests of all descriptions interested in preserving the present policies. In the end, the Dutch will probably have to submit to the Belgian conditions. Meanwhile, the latter do their best to assist the Dutch in their difficulties. It would be an exaggeration to say that the Belgians keep the Dutch financially solvent. Holland has a

good market in Belgium and thus obtains the latter's hard currency for other needs.

The Dutch are, by no means, a decaying nation. They are hardy, vigorous and adventurous. In due course they will overcome their difficulties. They are now in the process of adaption to the new conditions.

Like Great Britain, the Dutch suffer from overemployment. One cannot escape the impression that many jobs in Holland are created merely to keep people occupied. In Visé on the Dutch border, a single nonchalant Belgian gendarme accompanied by a lonely customs officer, saw our train off. By way of contrast, men met us in Holland; policemen, customs and currency-control men. The same was noted in Rosendal. I suspect, too, that in Dutch offices and banks three men are employed where one would be in Belgium. The latter, with its great wealth and gigantic industry, cheerfully keeps 250,000 people on the dole, which is higher than the general wage scale in Holland. Besides, there is no mean test. The Dutch, on the other hand, have hardly 100,000 unemployed on account of their policy to keep people busy somehow. It now dawns on many economists that it is more profitable for a country as a whole to employ only those who are really needed and pay them well, while keeping the rest on a comfortable dole. No scientific solution of this problem has yet been found. Perhaps a policy of compulsory early retirement, together with the prohibition of child labor and the drastic reduction of the number of women in industry would help. At any rate, the policy of overemployment leads almost inevitably to inflation, a depreciated currency and general misery. The contrast of the great prosperity of Belgium so close at hand induces serious thinking.

I had interesting talks while in Holland, with all types and classes of men. Holland suffered a great deal under the Nazis who thoroughly looted the country. In consequence, there is far more anti-German feeling in Holland than in Belgium, where the Nazis were much more considerate and the German generals more influential. After the most unpleasant experience of being caught napping, the Dutch now have a well-organized army for their defense. It is the same for Belgium. There is no doubt that Western Europe is rearming so rapidly that the Bolsheviks will think twice before starting another war. To realize the extent of this rearmament, it suffices to state that the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, with its

000,000 people, this year voted 500 million francs, nearly \$12,000,000, for rearmament.

Dutch Abbeys

I visited several religious communities in Holland. They are flourishing and have a great many vocations. The Benedictines of Oosterhout, after starting three foundations, still have nearly ninety monks in a beautiful monastery originally built for fifty. In the great Cistercian Abbey of Tilburg, which has 160 monks and many novices, I found great interest for patristic studies and Eastern Monasticism. This Abbey at present is starting a new foundation in Java. I also visited the Abbey of Zundert, one of the strictest existing Trappists monasteries.

I left Holland for the second time by way of the great Cistercian Abbey of Achel, now in reconstruction. It was thoroughly looted by the Gestapo during the last war, when the monks were expelled. When completed, the new abbey will be one of the finest in existence. It is strictly Cistercian in design, but is built to accommodate the demands of the age. Achel Abbey lies on the Dutch-Belgian border, partly in Belgium, partly in Holland. Its personnel is nearly 80% Dutch. My visits to the various Abbeys were in connection with the preparation of my book *Benedictine Monasticism Today*.

DR. S. BOLSHAKOFF
Oxford, England

Warder's Review

Moral Rearmament

IT IS LIKELY that we shall be hearing and reading more and more of Moral Rearmament as the present state of world-unrest continues. The fact that this movement has a catchy name, a worthy objective and an admixture of truth makes it necessary that people in general and Catholics in particular be wary of being attracted by it. The evident sincerity of its promoters is also likely to appeal to large numbers of people grown weary with war and strife. Thousands of men and women have already become enthusiastic devotees of Moral Rearmament; its "paradise of Caux", (Caux-sur-Montreux, Switzerland) world center of M. R., has produced remarkable "conversions" among the most varied types of men.

The originator of this movement, which seeks to change the world by transforming the individual, is Frank Buchman, a former Lutheran minister, born in 1878 in Pennsylvania. As early as 1909 Buchman started his movement in Princeton, New Jersey; it was then known as the Oxford Group Movement (not to be confused with the Oxford Movement in England in the past century). Problems and issues are to be solved without recourse to the terrifying weapons of modern warfare. Since our difficulties are basically moral, people must arm themselves, not with machine guns or bombs, but morally. The individual's life is first changed through a profound emotional experience in which a direct contact is established with God. This "life-change" is

projected and continued by the practice of the "four absolutes": absolute honesty, absolute purity, the highest type of unselfishness and the greatest love of others. Men who faithfully practice the "four absolutes" will break down the barriers of hate and cruelty which beget strife and unrest.

The "paradise of Caux" is a veritable haven of altruism. Pilgrim's are most cordially received and the reserve of the stranger is rapidly dissipated by the genial atmosphere pervading the Center. As a rule, it doesn't take long for pilgrims to join their fellows at the meetings in "sharing" their spiritual experiences, which in some instances is tantamount to a public confession of sins, i.e., delinquencies in the observance of the "four absolutes".

During the years of the Second World War (1939-45), Buchmanism was in eclipse. But in 1946 it burgeoned forth with new vigor. Today M. R. is devoting all its energies to the solution of the social problem, specifically labor-management relations.

What is the Church's attitude toward the Moral Rearmament Movement? May Catholics participate in its activities? Official pronouncements have been made by three Cardinals, by a national group of Cardinals and Archbishops and by the Bishop in whose jurisdiction M. R. has its Center.

The latest statement was made by Cardinal Schuster, Archbishop of Milan, who said a few months ago: "The movement is exploiting the good faith of those who support it. It is a Protes-

tant origin and follows a Protestant system. It tries to go above the Catholic Church and seeks to put the faithful in direct contact with God and His grace. . . This movement is dangerous for non-Catholics, because it presents to them a not fully religious creed, a moral without dogma, without a principle of authority, without a faith revealed from above. It is, therefore, full of errors."

Msgr. Charriere, Bishop of Lausanne, Geneva and Fribourg, in whose diocese the "paradise of Caux" is situated, issued a long directive on September 25, 1947, in which he warned of the religious indifferentism inherent in M. R. Previously, on February 11, 1938, Cardinal Hinsley of Westminster had noted the same error in directing that "no Catholic may join in such a movement so as to take an active part therein or formally cooperate therewith."

Well does *The Examiner* of Bombay (September 20, 1952) observe: "It is passing strange that when they belong to a divine institution which has all that makes for salvation and sanctification of their souls and harmony among peoples, Catholics should be attracted to a human movement which can be very much less for them and which may even cause them to lose what they have."

All of which might be summed up in a terse warning: Beware of moral quackery, even though it have Quaker antecedents!

To Nationalize or Denationalize

RADICAL CHANGES EFFECTED in the economies of some nations in the recent past have interesting, not to say supremely important, implications. Bolivia and Great Britain come to mind. For many months the trend in Britain under the influence of the party in power—the Conservatives—has been toward denationalization of industries which were taken over by the Labor Government. At present the change back to private ownership is being negotiated for the iron and steel industry.

Curiously enough, the while this process is going on in Great Britain, Bolivia is undergoing the exact opposite experience: its government under President Victor Paz Estenssoro took over three major tin companies. In explanation of this action, President Estenssoro said very bluntly: "These three companies are bigger than the government. That cannot be."

The companies involved—Patino, Hochschild and Aramayo—have capital representing heavy investments of people of the U. S. and other countries. Their labor policy, it seems, was open to serious criticism on the grounds of exploitation of the workers. Corruption of government officials through graft and bribery eliminated any legal intervention. It was such conditions which undoubtedly moved Archbishop Isidore Antezana of La Paz to lend his support to the nationalization program. His Excellency contended that the fruit of Bolivian labor in the tin mines was being taken abroad without "just and humane compensation."

Retracing its steps in the opposite direction, Great Britain is having its troubles. The government has found that it is much easier to take over industries than to relinquish them. The November 1 issue of *The Statist* mentions some of the difficulties confronting Winston Churchill, not the least of which revolves about the matter of a fair compensation to the government for the return of the industries to private interests. The price paid by the government when it took the industries over would not prove very attractive to private investors today. Besides, these investors naturally feel that the element of risk has been increased, what with their experience in having seen government absorption of industry brought about not so long ago. Will another Labor government repeat its program of nationalization?

There are, of course, other factors making the "reconversion" difficult, as *The Statist* reminds us: "the high, and still rising, cost of new plant (construction); dearer money and a more sensitive new stock issues market; the end of the buoyant tone of world markets and the rapid expansion of world steel capacity."

In both Britain and Bolivia, though the trends are opposite in each, the basic problem concerns the dual aspects of property, viz., its social and individual or private aspects. It is undoubtedly the violations of social justice and the ignoring of the common good which prompts governments to take over productive property like industry. Whether such action is desirable or not must be determined by the circumstances in the case. Sometimes government intervention is the sole recourse of a harassed citizenry, as is obviously the situation in Bolivia.

Yet, government-controlled industry is hardly satisfactory as a permanent solution. In a letter

to the *Semaines Sociales* of France several years ago, Pope Pius XII pointed out the "dangerous results" of nationalization. Noting one undesirable effect in particular—the tendency to de-humanize the worker—the Holy Father warned: "Instead of deminishing the mechanical character of life and work . . . nationalization, even when morally legitimate, is more likely to increase it."

While detesting the abuses and injustices of liberalistic Capitalism, we must be wary of its extreme opposite. A government monopoly can be equally as oppressive as one set up by private capital. The remedy for economic ills must not be more dangerous than the disease. There are measures which can aid us in steering that true, middle course. Tendencies to exploitation and monopoly in private industry can be successfully and safely curbed by what is clumsily termed co-determination. Both profits and management are shared between the employer and the worker. Benefits accrue to industry as well as to labor, since it is reasonable to expect a higher degree of responsibility in the worker under such a system.

Nor should we be unaware of the role played by the cooperatives in restraining the unhealthy growth of private interests to the detriment of the common good. We do not have to think in dialectic fashion, as though it is a case of either liberalistic Capitalism or Socialism. Both are wrong; both must be rejected. Britain and Bolivia today present valuable lessons showing the folly of both extremes in social economy.

Crisis in Kenya

THE ERUPTION of a wave of crime and terror recently in Kenya, East Africa, has brought to general view a poignant example of how the social misery and unrest of a great number of people can be capitalized on by a comparatively small group. The campaign of the antiwhite Mau Mau society was just such a revolutionary eruption.

But beneath the sensational reports of murder, terror and unrest in the Kikuyu country lie deep moral and social currents. A good appraisal of these currents appeared in the October 1 issue of *The Southern Cross* of Capetown.

"For the last half-century the onrush of civilization in Kikuyuland has been forcing a very backward people through stages of development that it has taken European nations several centuries to

achieve," the article states. "The process has been too fast. From their intercourse with the white man the natives came to disbelieve in their old natural religion; to reject the authority of parents, elders and chiefs; to disregard and even to despise the tribal laws and customs by which they had formerly been governed."

The *Southern Cross* pointedly continues: "The immediate cause of the present turmoil is the ownership of land. A large proportion of Kikuyu country is grossly overpopulated and quite unable to support its present inhabitants, whilst extensive tracts of fertile soil are owned by a handful of white settlers."

It is shown how the wrong ideals of life were instilled through foreign education. Wrong ideals in education are at the root of a great deal of the unrest amongst the people, and most of the seditious propaganda and incitement to crime comes from a small group of Africans who have been educated in England and elsewhere. The fundamental basis of lawlessness amongst a large section of native population is the Godlessness of their upbringing.

The Southern Cross explains that "the Mau Mau is a secret society whose declared object is to drive the white man from this country. Politically, of course, that implies self-government, but the native is not interested in that; what he wants is sufficient fertile land to live on.

"It is obvious that such police force as can be organized by some 20,000 adult whites is incapable of enforcing law and order amongst about five million natives, the majority of whom have no sound moral standards and who are aggravated by the glaring contrast between the apparent wealth and comforts of the settlers and the poverty of the native African: the age-long conflict and hatred between the 'have-nots' and the 'haves'."

However, the appraisal noted that the agrarian trouble, which is the chief immediate cause of the present disorder, constitutes an occasion for a widespread outbreak of crime much of which has no direct connection with the ownership of land.

Another analysis of the Mau Mau terror campaign comes from Douglas Hyde, the former British communist. Hyde, writing in *America*, November 22, 1952, acknowledges the social misery and evils that exist in East Africa and adds that these conditions, "worked on by a tiny handful of Marxist-trained leaders, can be an explosive thing in this troubled mid-twentieth century world we are living in."

Hyde recalls that "one of the most important and successful of the British Communist Party's activities in the eyes of Moscow has for long been its direction of the Colonial Communist parties. In 1947, a conference was held in London at which representatives of every Communist party in the British Commonwealth met to work out their tactics." The British ex-Red recognizes the tactics of the Mau Mau in East Africa as the

same used by the Malayan Marxist jungle fighters—murder and terrorization of white land owners and their wives.

Kenya is just another sore spot in our distressed world where the Liberalism sown in past generations is now bearing its bitter fruit. Such political and social upheavals were bound to come as reactions to the grave crimes of exploiting nations.

Contemporary Opinion

MANY YEARS AGO I remember that in the home of even the poorest workman there was always a bookcase with perhaps a hundred volumes. True, many of the books were trash. But there were many worthy ones as well. Today in such a dwelling there is rarely even a bookshelf. And let it not be said that this is the fault of television and similar time-hungry wonders. It occurred a long time before. As a matter of fact, only the blind could have failed to see it happening. The worthless books published were the direct cause. The habit of books, unfortunately, is not fixed like the habit of drinking. It needs no Alcoholics Anonymous to stop reading.

BEN L. BURMAN¹⁾

Korea is fruitful. Its rice-fields in the south are outstanding. Its grain, its millet, its cotton are of above-average quality. Its forests produce valuable wood. Its ports are free of ice. And its people are diligent and industrious.

But all of these advantages, seen from an economical point-of-view, are only superficially important. Of much more importance today are the riches of this land which lie beneath its surface, which offer a much stronger stimulus to the greed of its neighbors. The Korean earth possesses treasures that could throw all the financiers and business men of the world off balance. Prospecting surveys have disclosed that Korea possesses, besides rich coal deposits, gold, silver, nickel and copper veins, the worth of which it is not yet possible to determine. Besides these, wolfram, graphite, quick-silver, mica, lead, etc., can be found. Within a short time there will also probably be oil-wells.

One can see that this "poor" land has been spared nothing which can make its fate worse. Its fruitfulness, its treasures in the earth, its geographical position—all its advantages—will bring it to disaster. While in the discussions of the statesmen there is much talk of the freedom and independence of the Korean people, and the issue is being decided with the weapons of the world-powers, in the background there looms the fact of the coal mines, the future gold, silver and copper mines, the oil fields and refineries. No one speaks of them, but this silence is loud and piercing and the business possibilities, which are of fairy-tale proportions, are of more importance on the world market reports than the living peoples, their sufferings, their sacrifices, their misery and their destruction. The land of the "Morning-Stillness" will then be no more—it will become a noisy industrial district. Who will be its master?

Stimmen Der Zeit

February, 1952

... Communists are that part of mankind which has recovered the power to live or die—to bear witness—for its faith. And it is a simple, rational faith that inspires men to live or die for it.

It is not new. It is, in fact, man's second oldest faith. Its promise was whispered in the first days of the Creation under the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil: "Ye shall be as gods." It is the great alternative faith of mankind. Like all great faiths, its force derives from a simple vision. Other ages have had great visions. They have always been different versions of the same vision: the vision of God and man's relationship to God. The Communist vision is the vision of Man without God. . .

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS
in *Witness*

¹⁾ "The Cult of Unintelligibility", *The Saturday Review*.

Just what is true Catholic Action or what is the job of Catholic Action? These are simple but fundamental questions. We quote from the message of Cardinal Saliege, Archbishop of Toulouse, France, which was carried in *The Irish Catholic*, June 12:

"I have known and still know of Catholic Action stations which are closed stations: study groups, friendly gatherings, in which the participants split hairs four ways, carry on endless discussions on nothing, and drain their minds and hearts dry.

"They beat about the bush: they never go to the center of things. They admire each other and do nothing. They bore each other methodically. They fear the world of time, they are afraid they may slip into it. They have no spirit, they have no courage, they have no daring.

"Catholic Action will not hold worthwhile human beings unless it is engaged with the human and, therefore, with the temporal."

How right Dr. M. M. Coady is in saying that the formula we offer in the co-operative movement "does not hold forth the prospect of making great fortunes by exploiting our fellow man," or the "idea of power over other people." Instead, as he says, the aim is to establish economic justice.

The attitude and spirit expressed in Dr. Coady's statement should permeate the co-operative movement from bottom to top. Especially should those who head co-operatives have this attitude and spirit. Some co-operative enterprises have failed because too many top men were seeking careers and high salaries.

Not only do the attitude and spirit expressed by Dr. Coady bespeak devotion to the cause, but they are financially helpful to co-operatives. Particularly while becoming established, co-operatives cannot afford to pay as high salaries as businesses that have monopoly power and large profits. In order to get co-operatives established, there must be willingness to make some sacrifices.

Devotion to the cause on the part of the top men in co-operatives is not only good financially for the co-operatives, but it inspires people to follow. Nothing promotes solid support of co-operatives by rank-and-file co-operators more than unselfish leadership.

Nebraska Co-Operator
November 5, 1952

Fragments

IF IN THE LAST TEN YEARS there has been a big improvement in the conditions of labor, there still remains the grave problem of the relation between the machine and the worker.

The discovery and application of the machine certainly represents a conquest in human progress. But there is another side of the picture; for the endless repetition of the machine's operations threatens to make the worker lose all human incentive and turn him into an automaton.

POPE PIUS XII¹⁾

This is no time to abandon our defenses. On the contrary, our stockpile of atomic weapons must be improved and expanded far beyond its present size. It has and must ever stand as a warning to any aggressor. This program we will continue with persistence. This policy we will pursue with vigor.

But what I plead for today is something more. We need to add a new weapon to our arsenal of defense. It is every man's duty to pray—to pray to God for deliverance from wars and threats of wars; just as it should be every man's belief that God can and will hear our prayers.

THOMAS E. MURRAY
Atomic Energy Commission

"In Mexico, we suffer from a rampant capitalism which has brought opulence to a privileged few and dire poverty to the majority of the people," Bishop Luis Cabrera told an assembly of Catholic Action Counselors in Mexico City. He said: "I believe that among the different social classes, the social doctrines of the Church are generally unknown because hardly anyone bothers to read them or meditate upon them."

The crisis in the Western world exists precisely in proportion to its indifference towards God, and the Western world is passing through that crisis because it shares in great part the vision of materialism and Communism, i.e., the vision of a world without God. History shows us the ruins of nations and peoples who became indifferent to God. We cannot expect a better fate if there is no return to God and His Principles.

Catholic Action, Madras
October 1952, p. 105.

¹⁾ Letter to the Italian Catholic Social Week.

THE SOCIAL APOSTOLATE

Theory — Procedure — Action

Bishops' Statement

THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS of the United States, in their statement concluding the annual 1952 meeting in Washington, warned the Faithful against the forces of materialism which constitute a major threat to the spiritual, moral and cultural traditions of the nation. They noted that in America today there is "restless foreboding and deep insecurity" which has its roots in the widespread "spiritual losses" prevalent even in the midst of an "unprecedented national prosperity." This condition is for the most part due to the tendency to separate God and His law from American education, and to the State's excluding religion and "substituting its own arbitrary dictates for the decrees of eternal Wisdom."

Using as a watchword, "the doctrine of Church-State separation", forces of materialism have waged an increasingly hostile fight against parochial and private education and its influence in our national life. Although not mentioning the names of Paul Blanshard, Dr. James Conant and the NEA, the U. S. Bishops declared that some who attack the religious schools were "loud in their praise of practically everything that came out of the realms of atheism and tyranny" in the days when Communism "was posing as a new and advanced kind of democracy!" Blanshard, Conant and other officials of the NEA have deplored publicly the existence of religious and private schools as "un-American" and "divisive" to our society.

"Now that it is no longer fashionable to regard Communism as other than the avowed enemy of our country," the Bishops' statement adds, "they (the enemies of parochial schools) maintain a discreet silence on the subject of Communistic virtues, but they still throw the weight of their

influence behind such totalitarian movements as an all-embracing State-controlled school-system of education completely devoid of religion."

Then the Bishops with pointed directness continue: "Consciously or unconsciously, in eliminating the influence of religion and in working for the absolutism of majority vote, they are promoting the disintegration of those social institutions whose foundations are in religion, freedom, equality, human dignity, the stable family, and that constitutional democracy which has been characteristic of this country."

The real threat to the United States today comes not from "divisiveness", but from "irreligious social decay", the Bishops declare. As proof of the social decay, they cite the "national scandal" of our divorce rate, increasing juvenile delinquency and the decline of moral standards resulting in unprecedented public corruption.

The Bishops call for a return of the practice of justice and charity, rededication to the rational concept of the relation of Church and State as expressed by the Founding Fathers in the First Amendment of the Constitution, and above all, a return to prayer and true Christian living.

"In our present-day world it has become clear that denial of supernatural truth tends finally to the denial of all religious truths. 'I will show you the truth and the truth will make you free.' In Christ's design truth and freedom stand together. If today Christianity stands for freedom, it is because Christianity is truth."

So the American Hierarchy conclude their statement on the fundamental topic of "Religion, Our Most Vital National Asset." We shall refer to specific points of this Message in later issues of *Social Justice Review*.

Canadian farmers borrowed less from the federal government in the fiscal year which ended March 31, 1952 than in any other year. The Farm Loan Board said in its 23rd annual report, issued recently, that the number of applicants

dropped 16 per cent. The amount loaned totalled \$4,238,400, a drop of 10 per cent from the previous years. The current interest rate is five per cent.

Change of Policy Toward Japan

AMERICAN LABOR is facing a recurring problem in the rising competition of Japanese trade in the world. With World War II, the defeat of Japan, and the tremendous post-war consumer demand both at home and abroad, the problem was easily overlooked and even thought to be solved.

However, since 1951 the bite of Japanese competition has been felt in more and more places in the world. The tuna fisherman of America is appalled by the huge volume of low-priced tuna coming from Japan. Similarly, British cotton producers are moaning the onslaught of cheap Japanese goods in their foreign markets. These are but two of the manifestations of the rising Japanese competition.

The Rev. John J. Lynch, economist, who has studied the Japanese economy first hand for two years, in the *Labor Leader*, September 30, told of pressures now being used by lobbyists to obtain tariff protection against the "unscrupulous Japanese manufacturers." Father Lynch said workingmen through their unions are naturally beginning to raise their voices against competition from "coolies." But before the Catholic laborer joins in the hue and cry, he ought to consider the cause and possible consequences of the Japanese worker's plight.

A report of the economist-priest's study shows that in Japan today there are about 85 million people, which is about thirteen or fourteen million more than in 1941. With the loss of their empire—Formosa, Korea, Manchuria, and numerous small islands—these people have been compressed in their home islands, which, put together, are not as large in area as California. Moreover, the great bulk of the land in Japan is mountainous, of no use for farming. Every available inch of farmland is used.

The dearest possessions of a Japanese are his children; the cheapest product on the open market is human labor. This is not because the Japanese laborer is less worthy of his hire than an American union man is, but because of, among other things, the great competition in the labor market and the weakness of Japanese unions.

Father Lynch reported that the Japanese laborer works hard and skillfully, but he cannot acquire

the efficiency and high skill of the American laborer because his life is too much of a struggle. Frequently, his whole family must live in a one-room hovel. He works long hours for a dollar or two a day. He knows neither security in his work nor hope for the future. Finally, the Japanese laborer has no leisure to be instructed in religion and often finds suicide a quick solution for his despair.

It becomes apparent then, that Japan, where millions of workers are forced to lead miserable and often inhuman lives, has a great problem. This problem would become more grave if, in addition, tariff barriers were thrown up against Japanese goods. Boycott and international ill-feeling are no solution to that country's problem, nor in the long run to the problem of rising Japanese competition in the world market.

Already the problem has taken a new twist as Father Lynch's study reveals that many persons are working hard to convince the Japanese that the only long-range solution to their problems of excess workingmen is systematic abortion and artificial birth-control. These un-Christian and immoral practices have been instigated in the Japanese welfare agencies by American occupation authorities.

A Christian solution to Japan's problems has been promoted by a Maryknoll Missionary, Father William Kaschmitter. His plan calls for foreign nations to rent unused arable land, of which there is plenty in the world, to Japan. Japanese farmers would come to work and send their produce to the home country, thereby alleviating the food shortage in Japan while reducing its labor supply. In this way the Japanese farmers would be working in foreign lands and still not be competing with local labor.

But Father Kaschmitter's plan does not place the problem of Japanese-over-population on the international level where it truly belongs. Through the countless wars, peace treaties, and pacts, we have seen develop a new society, an international society. It is this society or family of nations, which must help distressed member nations solve problems they cannot solve alone. Thus it is the workingmen of the world, citizens of these nations, must aid in finding some solution to a problem particularly affecting workingmen.

New Attitude Toward Immigration Needed

THE TIME HAS COME now for the American people to think in terms of an immigration program that is consonant with our own domestic needs and our leadership of the free nations of the world. Our experience in the resettlement of displaced persons has convinced us that there are real needs in our country that can be met with new immigrants without depriving our own people of homes or job opportunities.

"Nobody who has a constructive interest in immigration today is suggesting the possibility of moving huge numbers of people into this country. We are thinking merely of an all-over number of persons, who can be absorbed into our own economy without causing any serious dislocations. The all-over number that we admit must be based on a careful study of our own needs.

"It is a well-known fact that we have in Europe a number of uprooted persons for whom homes and job opportunities must be found in other countries. We have a considerable number of persons escaping from behind the Iron Curtain. In countries like Italy, Greece, Germany, and Holland, we have a considerable number of persons suffering severe hardships because there is no place for them in their own economies.

"Once the people of the United States settle on a Christian program of immigration that is based on our own needs and our leadership responsibilities in the world today, other countries will follow our example. Then will it be possible for us to join in a great international program for the resettlement and the providing of new homes for escapees, for refugees, and for people suffering from severe hardship in the various countries throughout the world.

"This is the type of immigration program for which all Catholics in our country should work. It is the type of truly Christian international immigration policy to which our Holy Father, Pius XII, has been pointing through the years."

Thus spoke Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter in an official statement to a two day Institute on Immigration, October 23-24, at Hotel Statler in St. Louis. His Excellency, who is Chairman of the Episcopal Committee on Resettlement of Displaced Persons, sponsored the Institute which was

inspired by Msgr. John O'Grady, Executive Secretary of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C. The Institute was conducted by the Central Bureau of the Central Verein and St. Louis University jointly.

The passage of the McCarren-Walter Immigration Act in June of this year demonstrated in forceful manner the need of reviewing and studying our entire immigration policy. In view of the various discriminatory features and exclusion devices incorporated in this law, it was felt that our philosophy of immigration had deteriorated into a mentality which is both un-Christian and un-American. It was hoped that a new law would have righted some of the injustices and inconsistencies of the old legislation, passed in 1924 and made operative in 1929. But the McCarren-Walter Act not only perpetuates most of the bad features of the old law, but even adds new ones, such as the procedures governing deportation, which place the deportee at the mercy, not to say whims, of a single government official without hope of appeal.

Since our present legislation on immigration reflects an attitude and a philosophy which is wrong, it was concluded by Msgr. O'Grady and other people of prominence that the time has come for a study of immigration. There is need for more than adjustment or alteration of one or other feature of the law; the need is for a change in our basic thinking. Hence the holding of the Institute in St. Louis, with others scheduled to follow in other cities.

The meetings in St. Louis drew experts in the immigration field and representative people from perhaps a dozen states. The discussions at the various sessions (three daily) followed the general theme outlined by Archbishop Ritter.

But these Institutes represent only a beginning. A permanent center of study and information on immigration has been established at the Central Bureau. St. Louis University has agreed to direct the study by assigning subjects relating to immigration for theses and dissertations. A special library with source materials is in the process of formation. In asking the Central Bureau to house this information center, Msgr. O'Grady pointed out the propriety for this in view of Dr. F. P. Kenkel's pioneer work on behalf of helping immigrants in years gone by. He suggested the center as a memorial to Dr. Kenkel (See page 261).

SOCIAL REVIEW

More Attention to Roads

ONE OF THE USEFUL BY-PRODUCTS of the controversy over roads and truck weights in recent years is a new appreciation of the many factors involved in highway construction.

Much of our highway system is like Topsy. It "just grew" with little planning or foresight. Little thought was given to the load factors or the sharply increasing traffic which highways were to be called upon to bear.

In recent years we have seen much more attention devoted to highway construction and the many items which must be considered. Engineers are now working with planning groups, traffic experts, freight carriers, and public officials to develop highways which will meet the demands of the motor age. We are seeing in this new concept of roadwork a certain degree of emancipation from the old system of roads which followed trails, turnpikes and cowpaths. Engineers are breaking new ground and striking out into entirely new ideas and areas in roadbuilding.

In this new approach to highway building, greater attention is being given now than in the past to the chief causes of road deterioration such as water, wind, temperature changes, soil and subsoil types, construction techniques, maintenance, drought, age, etc. With this new approach brought about by the motor age, all those interested can have some assurance that sound engineering principles rather than threadbare prejudices will be controlling in road-building.

The International Teamster
March, 1952

Food Consumption

IN 1952 THE AVERAGE AMERICAN is consuming 9 percent more beef and 23 percent more pork than he did fifteen years ago, but 14 percent less veal and 44 percent less lamb and mutton. He is eating a good deal more cheese, eggs, chicken, and turkey, and drinks more milk as well as more coffee. He does not favor wheat products as much as formerly, for his consumption of both wheat flour and cereals made of wheat is lower than the 1935-1939 average. And the day of canned food has really arrived. The per capita consumption of canned vegetables has increased 40 percent as against only 5 percent for fresh vegetables; and for fruit, the canned varieties are up 32 percent while the fresh fruits are down 17 percent.

These statistics are taken from a table recently published by the Department of Agriculture, giv-

ing the apparent per capita civilian consumption of foods in 1952 as compared with the average for 1935-39. Preliminary figures for some forty different food items are listed for 1952, of which more than half show a gain over 1935-1939. Considering that food consumption as a whole is about the most stable of economic indicators, the ups and downs in the use of different kinds of food since the earlier period illustrate the changes that can occur in eating habits over the years.

Although the gains or losses in actual quantity have been small in some cases, a rather surprising number of foods show large percentage changes. For example, per capita consumption of hominy is 79 percent greater now than in 1935-1939; that of corn meal, 43 percent less; and of sweet potatoes, 65 percent less. The figures also reflect the growth of a relatively new industry, namely frozen foods, the use of which was very limited fifteen years ago.

Sees Need for One Million "Extra" Workers in 1953

RECRUITMENT OF MORE than one million "extra" workers from several groups in the population—mainly housewives and retired persons—may be necessary in 1953 to meet defense manpower goals, Secretary of Labor Maurice J. Tobin said some time ago.

Manpower needs over the next two years will increase by an estimated three and one-half million, according to Tobin, and labor force expansion will be required, especially in 1953 when sharper pressures on labor supply are expected. This year, however, reductions in non-defense employment due to curtailed supplies of metals for civilian uses will partly offset pressures caused by expanding manpower needs, he declared.

Tobin warned that in recruiting the extra workers "it will be necessary in many instances to adopt job requirements, hours and working conditions in order to make fuller use of these groups."

The Secretary's statement was made in connection with the publication of a manpower outlook, "Projected Manpower Requirements and Supply, 1952-1953," prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The report set the expected net gain in manpower needs during 1952 at 1.5 million, including scheduled armed force build-up. To provide the additional manpower needed in 1952, the total labor force would have to be expanded by an estimated 1.2 million, bringing it to 67.7 million by the end of the year. This increase, if achieved, would exceed the "normal" annual increase by about 400,000.

British Government to Introduce Legislation on Night-Baking

A LITTLE MORE THAN A YEAR AGO, discussions in the House of Commons resulted in the appointment of a committee to consider the desirability of abolishing or limiting the practice of night-baking in the bread-baking and flour confectionery industry of Great Britain. Previously, the same problem, considered to have done much to hinder the development of really satisfactory relationships in the British baking industry, had been the subject of two official inquiries since 1919, neither of which led to a solution. The Rees Committee of 1951-52 made a most careful examination of the entire problem, with a view chiefly to alleviating the hardships of baking employees engaged in night work, particularly the 14-17,000 employees working permanently at night. The recommendations of the committee were unanimous; the Conservative Government has decided to accept them in principle and will give effect to them, with certain modifications, by appropriate legislation.

The adoption of the recommendations, which represented a compromise between the extremes of total abolition of night work and the continuance of the existing system, is expected to remove the worst hardships arising from continuous night work, but without involving detriment to this important industry or to the public which it serves. The committee adopted the basic principle that no baker should work at night more than half of his time, and the Government agreed that it is to be strictly applied to all bakeries, including three-shift plants. The committee's recommendations were reported to the House of Commons as having the advantage of flexibility and of having taken into account the differing needs of the various sections of the baking industry. The committee itself proposed certain exemptions, for example, that master bakers should be excluded from the scope of the legislation. These exemptions the Government has accepted. In addition, the official statement of the Minister of Labor and National Service indicated that provision will be made to exempt those parties having an effective voluntary national agreement between the two sides of the baking industry, the terms of which, in the view of the Minister of Labor, eliminate the need for legislation of night baking. On the basis of this exemption, it is hoped, the conclusion of effective voluntary agreements, where none now exists, might be stimulated.

In order to give the British baking industry sufficient time to prepare for the changes which the new legislation will entail, the Rees Committee had recommended an interval of two years between the passing of the legislation and its coming into force. In the proposed legislation this period is being extended to three years.

New Survey of Corporative Ownership

A STUDY ENTITLED "Share Ownership in the United States" just completed by the Brookings Institution of Washington reaches the conclusion that there are about 6,500,000 individual shareholders of investor-owned corporations. This study, the most comprehensive on the subject ever undertaken, was made through the cooperation of 3,000 corporations, banks, brokers, the New York Stock Exchange, twenty other exchanges and security associations, and involved interviews with over 15,000 people. The net total given is after eliminating a great deal of the duplication that arises where the same person owns stock in more than one company; it is only about one-sixth of the gross shareholdings exceeding 30,020,000 persons owning shares in private companies with less than 100 shareholders, the stocks of which are not traded on any exchange.

It was found by the survey—contrary to the opinions often heard—that 32 per cent of the shareholders were people having family incomes under \$5,000 annually, 44 per cent had incomes of \$5-10,000, and only 24 per cent had incomes over \$10,000.

Factory Run on Papal Lines

AT LEAST ONE FACTORY in England is operated in its administration on the lines laid down in the Papal encyclicals. This is the Spa Lane mills of the Ernest Turner group in Derby, which makes narrow textiles.

Though less than 15 per cent of the employees are Catholics, the managing director, Mr. Alan Turner, a vigorous Catholic Actionist and a convert, has for more than three years applied Papal teaching in the running of the firm. Workers and managers sit on the various controlling committees and the workers have done much to influence the firm's policy.

A system of shared profits is being introduced and good will instead of regimentation—which went out when the time-clock was abolished—provides the motive-power of the firm's success.

On September 8 the firm will celebrate its "factory feast" by having Mass in the factory chapel, followed by High Mass in a weaving shed. Permission for these has been given by Bishop Ellis of Nottingham.

Children of Migratory Agricultural Workers

STUDIES OF MIGRANT FARM LABOR by official and voluntary agencies have uniformly revealed a lack of schooling among migrant children that is shocking. The most recent survey made by the National Child Labor Committee was conducted in Colorado in 1950 under the direction of Professor Howard E. Thomas of the Department of Rural Sociology of Cornell University. The findings of this study are similar to those of many others and are cited merely as one illustration of the almost incredible lack of schooling among migrant children.

Data on 354 school age children (7-16 years) in 262 migrant families revealed that:

Twenty-seven children (8 percent) had never been in school. Eight of them were over 10 years of age.

Ninety-one other children (26 percent) had left school permanently.

Most of the children who had left school, including the 14, 15 and 16 year olds, had not gone beyond the first or second grades.

Eighty-two percent of all school-age children were retarded from one to eight years.

Practically all children 11 years of age and over were retarded three years or more.

No one knows how many children there are in migrant farm families. Estimates vary from 250,000 to nearly half a million. Whatever the exact figure may be, the important fact is that many thousands of our boys and girls are growing up with practically no education. Both for their own sakes as children growing up in this land which cherishes the individual, and for the sake of the nation in which they will soon be expected to exercise intelligently the rights and the duties of adult citizenship, these little nomads of the crops should be provided the opportunities for education which America seeks to give to all within its borders.

The American Child
February, 1952

German Bells for Hiroshima Church

GERMAN STEEL FOUNDRY at Bochum is casting four large bells to be donated to the Peace Memorial Church in atom-bombed Hiroshima, Japan. The four bells will weigh three and a half tons.

The largest of the bells will be dedicated to Our Lady, Queen of Peace, and will bear this inscription: "Steel, raw material for war, calls the nations to peace."

The second, dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, Apostle of Japan, will carry the inscription: "Coming from the West we proclaim the peace of Christ in the East."

Reform of Social Structure in India

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION has put an end statutorily to untouchability and has set forth special provisions regarding the number of Harijans in government service. However, in practice, untouchability is still being enforced and it appears as if some time will have to pass before the legal abolition of untouchability becomes a factual reality all over India.

The Union Minister for Communications, Shri Jagjivan Ram, reported a short time ago that in almost every village in the country, especially in south India, the people followed a policy of segregating the Harijans.

"In south Indian villages one can immediately see that the Harijans will have their houses a few furlongs away from others," Ram said. "On the other hand, we call everyone equal; while on the other, we carry on a policy of segregation."

Ram also stressed the need for a social revolution to help change the present structure of society. The question that arises is whether a social revolution would be peaceful or violent. The answer to this question depends upon the vested interests and upon the zeal of the social reformers.

The social reformers have no better example to follow than the life and work of India's great Mahatma Gandhi, who devoted himself to the depressed classes. Gandhi worked for a non-violent path to social reform. Only along such a path will the constitutional safeguards and concessions help the untouchables to be placed on a level of equality with other Indian citizens.

Women's Consultative Committee in Britain

THE MINISTER OF LABOR and National Service of Great Britain recently reappointed the Women's Consultative Committee and gave it new terms of reference. They are: "To advise the Minister of Labor and National Service on questions of employment policy relating to women." The appointments to the new Committee are for a period of three years.

The original Women's Consultative Committee was formed in March 1941, to advise the Minister of Labor and National Service on questions affecting the recruiting and registration of women, and on the best methods of securing their services for the war effort. After the war this Committee was dissolved, but it was reappointed in October 1945, to advise the Minister on questions relating to the resettlement of women in civilian life.

The U. S.—A Have-Not Nation

GENERAL GRUENTHER, former Chief of Staff to General Eisenhower, stated some months ago in a broadcast talk that one of the things the latter felt to be of equal importance, of not of even greater importance than the military side, is the economic stability of the NATO countries and the preservation of their standard of living. Nothing could offer greater promise than this view for the building of a strong and true NATO defense posture.

Mr. Winthrop P. Brown, well known for his work at Geneva on the liberalization of trade policies, and later Director of the State Department's Office of International Materials Policy, stressed in a recent speech that military strength requires large supplies of many raw materials. "Contrary to popular impression," he said, "the United States is a 'Have-not' nation in most of the raw materials most vital to defense production." Mr. Brown pointed out that of 70 critical and strategic raw materials, the U. S. is self-sufficient in only 11, produces only part of its needs in 24, and is dependent on outside sources for 35. He quite rightly praised the "very remarkable achievement" of the International Materials Conference in its work in the allocation of scarce raw materials.

These allocations have been so handled, he said, "that not only have the allocations been accepted and put into effect by the countries that developed them, but there has been hardly a single complaint from any non-participating country that the allocation it received was not fair."

The Statist
February 9, 1952

It Began in Spain

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO Louis Braille died, then unknown to the world, but today famous for his "touch" alphabet of raised dots that allow the sightless to read, invented when Louis was sixteen.

The story of reading for the blind begins in 16th Century Spain, for that is where we have the first trace of raised type for blind people.

The first to have the idea of using dots, as a form of cipher code to simplify the task of the blind, was Father Francesco Lana, S.J. Later, in the 1770's, another Catholic, Valentin Haüy of Paris improved the use of dots. His system was still difficult, and it was the one taught to Braille.

Soon Louis Braille invented his system, even though it was not officially recognized in France

until after his death. Today it is a key to freedom for 7,000,000 sightless people.

Before Christ, the blind were outcasts. This can be seen in such varied sources as the Book of Leviticus and the Laws of Manu and the customs of ancient Rome.

With Christ, they ceased to be outcasts, and in the Middle Ages had something of a privileged position.

Catholic Worker
London, April, 1952

Fewer Farm Tenants

THE TENANT FARMER isn't nearly as important in U. S. agriculture as he was ten years ago.

In 1940, throughout the corn belt and great plains states, about half the farms were tenant operated. Not so today. In Missouri, the Dakotas, Kansas, and Oklahoma, farmer-owners run two-thirds to four-fifths of all the farms.

In Wyoming and Colorado, farm tenancy—never very high—has also dropped markedly.

Rubber Workers' Co-op

AFTER TWO YEARS of planning and campaigning for adequate share capital, the United Rubber Workers opened a \$500,000 Co-operative shopping center at Akron, Ohio, in May, 1952. This big new business has a supermarket, a drug store, a restaurant, a dry-cleaning shop, a clothing store, a service station, a watch repair department, all under one roof. It also houses a credit union.

The report of its first month operations showed a turnover of \$203,000. The bulk of the business was done by the supermarket.

The curiosity buying, the report says, is now at an end and those who are returning are the steady week to week customers. These are finding that they can make weekly savings by buying through the new co-op of from \$3.00 to \$6.00 on an average of \$30.00 worth of groceries.

The other departments of the Akron Co-op are building steadily. Additional services to customers will be added by the co-op as the customers indicate the need for them.

There is militant secularism abroad in the land today. It seeks to find in democracy all the ultimate ends and values traditionally associated with the concept of the Supreme Being.

REV. ALFRED HARRIGAN¹⁾

¹⁾ *The Casket*, November 13, 1952.

HISTORICAL STUDIES AND NOTES

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY CATHOLIC CRITIQUE OF THE LIBERAL THEORY OF FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND UTTERANCE

II.

WITH A NUMBER of ardent disciples, among whom were Father Lacordaire, O.P., and Count Charles de Montalembert, Lamennais in 1831 founded the journal *L'Avenir* whose motto was *Dieu et liberté*. The aim of this paper was to overcome the distrust of Catholics for Liberalism and prove that the civic liberties not only do not conflict with religion, but rather protect and support it. In the *Avenir*, Lamennais continued his struggle to bring about a separation of Church and State in the interest of the former, insisting now on a clear abrogation of the alliance between Catholicism and Legitimism in France. Concerning the policies pursued by the *Avenir*, we are here particularly interested in the fact that it championed freedom of the press, of conscience, of religion, of association and of education.

To make it possible for them to be "ultra-montanes," Lamennais and his friends had become democrats. Lamennais emphasized that the time was past when the Church could entertain any hopes for regaining a privileged position within the State. On the contrary, it was to be expected that the Church would soon be divested of any opportunity of direct social and political intervention or mediation. That is why, in his opinion, it was a strict duty of all Catholics to remind the State of the inalienable rights of men and the indefeasible freedoms of society. In view of the approaching dangers, it was doubtlessly to the advantage of the Church to accept the principle of liberty, the very principle upon which the new political order would be based. While the royalists insisted that the monarchy would grant all legitimate freedoms without pressure from outside, Lamennais was convinced that liberty must always be fought for, and will never be given willingly. The Catholics must, therefore, unite to make sure that the promise of freedom given in the constitution will actually be kept. Besides, the strength of religion is founded in the conscience of the nations, rather than in governmental protection. Once freedom of discussion has been

established and coercion removed, the people will discover, or re-discover, the truths of religion, and the Church will emerge triumphant.²⁷⁾

Needless to say, these ideas were diametrically opposed to those prevailing among the higher clergy, and they stirred up a bitter hostility among the legitimists. The letters which Lamennais wrote in those critical years (1829-32)²⁸⁾ vividly reflect his inner struggle. A chain of disappointments was wearing him down. He railed at the bishops of France as would-be schismatics and fiercely attacked the Jesuits. At the same time, however, he was trying desperately to hold on to the principle of universal and absolute papal authority, upon which his whole system was based. The fact that Rome did not avail itself of the assistance which he and his friends offered, amazed and bewildered him. He tried to solve these puzzles, not by re-examining his notions about human certainty and faith, authority and freedom, but by successively making new distinctions between the Pope and the bishops, the Pope and the Roman Court, the Pope as Vicar of Christ and as Sovereign.²⁹⁾

It is difficult to understand how Lamennais could reconcile this extreme authoritarianism with his belief in the liberal theories of freedom of thought and utterance. On the one hand, he seemed to doubt the efficacy of all human tests of truth; on the other, he seemed to have arrived at the belief that the people are the only source of political authority. According to Lord Acton, "he refused to admit that there is a sphere within which metaphysical philosophy speaks with absolute certainty, or that the landmarks set up by history and natural science may be such as neither authority nor prescription, neither the doctrine of the schools nor the interest of the Church, has the power to disturb or the right to evade." These

²⁷⁾ L. A. Veit, *Die Kirche im Zeitalter des Individualismus*, (Freiburg i.B., 1931, 2, Hälfte), p. 102.

²⁸⁾ Lamennais, *Correspondence*, (Paris, 1863).

²⁹⁾ Dalberg-Acton, *Essays*, pp. 271-74.

sciences presented, in the opinion of Lamennais, a hopeless chaos necessitating interpretation by an external authority.³⁰⁾ Yet at the same time he favored freedom of opinion and expression. At the time when Lamennais became a convert to Liberalism, he had somewhat lost sight of his Traditionalism.

Limitless freedom of the press can, of course, be construed to mean that man produces rather than finds truths. The notion of unrestricted freedom of opinion may be said to imply the principle of indifferentism and, indirectly at least, a denial of the exclusive possession of revealed truths which the Church claims for herself.³¹⁾ Perhaps the solution to these apparent inconsistencies lies in the fact, referred to before, that Lamennais did admit of a certainty, viz., that which relied on the general tradition of mankind, recorded and sanctioned by the infallible judgment of the Holy See.³²⁾ Common sense was to him, as will be remembered, an expression of the universal consent of humanity to certain truths revealed to man in the beginning of time. Perhaps Lamennais regarded the majority vote as a kind of manifestation of this *sens commun*. Be this as it may, the Church refused to recognize and sanction the notion that the new way to learn the truth was through the unhampered interplay of competing ideas.³³⁾

One month after the Archbishop of Toulouse, Monsignor d'Astros, had, with the consent of numerous other French bishops, sent to Rome a list of propositions extracted from the writings of Lamennais and considered to be errors, Gregory XVI in the famous encyclical *Mirari vos* (Aug. 15, 1832) implicitly condemned the journal *L'Avenir* and with it, of course, the basic ideas of those who conducted it. Absolute freedom of conscience and of the press, the radical separation of Church and State, revolt against the present government, which these men had favored, were rejected as a serious threat to religion and true civil liberty. The pernicious notion of a right to unlimited freedom of conscience and of opinion is, the Pope said, chiefly responsible for "the most execrable and detestable freedom," viz., the free-

dom to publish whatever someone has written and then to propagate and circulate it *ad libitum*. He deplored "the fact that there are men who are impudent enough to assert positively that the deluge of errors to which this 'liberty' gives rise is more than compensated for by one or the other book in defense of religion and truth appearing in the midst of such unfettered perversity." "Truly," the Pope continued, "there can be no doubt that it is an outrage and contrary to all concepts of justice to deliberately plan an act which one knows to be a great evil, just because there is hope that some good may come of it. What man in his right senses will ever dare hold that poison may be freely spread about, publicly bought and sold, even swallowed greedily, simply because there exists a remedy that has occasionally saved those from death who used it."³⁴⁾ The staff on which Lamennais had leaned with all his weight, Lord Acton writes (*l.c.*, p. 273), "broke in his hands; the authority he had so grossly exaggerated turned against him, and his faith was left without support." Within two years, Lamennais had apostasized.³⁵⁾ His chief disciples, however, bowed to the papal condemnation, although at least one of them, Lacordaire, never abandoned his liberal convictions completely.

Lacordaire and Montalembert, now joined by Dupanloup and Ozanam, continued in their endeavor to turn the thought of their Catholic fellow-countrymen away from the royalist tradition and towards the contemporary liberal-republican movement. In 1835 Montalembert became associated with the *Universe*. Lacordaire (supported by Ozanam) in 1848 founded *L'Ère nouvelle*. Louis Veuillot, an "ultramontane" conservative who in 1839 wrote his first article for *L'Universe*, became its editor in 1843. In the same year Montalembert published a brochure *Le devoir des Catholiques dans la question de la liberté d'enseignement* which was eminently successful in that it inaugurated a lay movement, supported by the bishops, for the defense of religious liberty. This movement was strong enough to prevent passage of a government bill regarding schools which would have been intolerable for the Church.³⁶⁾

³⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 270 the reader must, of course, keep in mind that Lord Acton was himself a "liberal" Catholic.

³¹⁾ Cf. L. A. Veit, *loc. cit.*, p. 238.

³²⁾ Cf. Dalberg-Acton, *Essays*, p. 271.

³³⁾ "To Secure These Rights," *The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights*, (Washington, D. C., 1947), p. 47.

³⁴⁾ Cf. *Les actes pontificaux de Pie IX* (*Acta Pie IX*), (Paris, 1865), p. 645 (contains also Gregory XVI encyclical *Mirari vos arbitramur* of Sept. 1832).

³⁵⁾ See his *Paroles d'un croyant* (Paris, 1834), condemned by the encyclical *Singulari nos* of June 24, 1834.

³⁶⁾ W. Gurian, "Montalembert," *Staatslexikon* (Freiburg i.B., 1929), Vol. III, col. 1409.

He assailed especially the monopolistic control of teaching effected through the Sorbonne. At that time, Montalembert and Veuillot fought shoulder to shoulder for the liberty of the Church and for freedom of education. However, after 1848 Veuillot began to attack the *Ère nouvelle* which supported the Republic, at the same time opposing Montalembert and Dupanloup who supported the *Loi Falloux*, a compromise school law which granted restricted freedom of instruction. The *Ère nouvelle*, under the heavy assaults of Veuillot, ceased publication only one year after it had been founded.³⁷⁾

In 1855 Montalembert reorganized the *Correspondant* (founded 1829) to make it a liberal organ, following the parole "*liberté civile et religieuse pour l'univers*." Dupanloup and Lacordaire supported the *Correspondant*. It seems that Montalembert did not feel that he could support the *Ère nouvelle* of his friend Lacordaire, because he did not share its optimistic belief in democracy. The despotism of the masses he considered as not less dangerous for Catholicism and the Church than the despotism of an absolute ruler. In 1863, he gave two famous talks (probably the last ones of his life) at the Catholic Day in Mechlin (Belgium) in which he glorified the four liberties guaranteed by the Belgian constitution of 1831, viz., freedom of education, of association, of worship and of the press. In a manner reminding one strongly of Lamennais, he spoke of the necessity of Christianizing democracy by accepting modern liberties. Democracy, he said now, is here to stay and only the Catholics will be able to curb the dangers of democratic equality. He strongly favored practical civic tolerance (as distinguished from theoretical dogmatic tolerance).³⁸⁾ The Church, he maintained, "could be in perfect harmony with religious liberty and with the modern State which is founded on that liberty, and that everyone is free to hold that the modern State is to be preferred to the one which preceded it."³⁹⁾ Although he had only two years earlier publicly protested against C. Cavour's policies regarding the Papal States and his attempt to let these policies appear as in keeping with

liberal Catholicism, Montalembert like Cavour postulated "the free Church in the free State."⁴⁰⁾ Rome was perturbed by this seeming revival of "Lamennais" and the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Antonelli, wrote an unpublished letter of warning to Montalembert. The Mechlin Congress, and the fact that in the very same year there had convened in Munich, under the chairmanship of I. v. Döllinger, a group of Catholic scholars who believed that the interests of the Church could best be defended by Catholic acceptance of the principle of freedom of science, are supposed to have hastened the publication of the Syllabus of 1864. However, it is only fair to state that Montalembert himself rejected the suggestion made to him to protest the Syllabus. He even approved joyously Bishop Dupanloup's commentary on the Syllabus, that famous brochure to which we referred above.⁴¹⁾

Lacordaire, unlike Lamennais, was a "liberal" from his early youth and remained one till his death, in accordance with his oft-quoted remark that he "hoped to die as a penitent monk but as an impenitent liberal." His articles in one short-lived "*Avenir*" dealt mostly with freedom of the press and the political independence of the Church, stressing especially freedom from State interference in matters of education and abolition of the school monopoly of the State. Together with Montalembert and others, he even opened a private school, deliberately refusing to apply for a government license and insisting in his opening address that "the first freedom of the world is the freedom of education." The school was soon closed by the police. In his defense in the ensuing court trial, he adhered defiantly to his belief that "teaching will be free in spite of the resistance of the government." One must not forget, however, that Montalembert also insisted that whoever claims tolerance must likewise show it to others.⁴²⁾

Lacordaire's close friend and co-editor of *L'Ère nouvelle*, Frederic Ozanam, too, believed that a Christian democracy was the end towards which a Divine Providence was leading the world ("*que la démocratie est le terme naturel du progrès*")

⁴⁰⁾ Cavour, 1861: *Libera chiesa in libero stato*; Montalembert, 1863: *L'église libre dans l'état libre*.

⁴¹⁾ Gg. Goyau, "Montalembert," *loc. cit.*, p. 515.

³⁷⁾ James MacCaffrey, *History . . .* II, p. 426.
³⁸⁾ Gurian, "Montalembert," *op. cit.*, col. 1411; Cf. also J. Pohle, "Toleration," *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol. XIV (New York, 1940), p. 764b.
³⁹⁾ Gg. Goyau, "Montalembert," *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol. X (New York, 1913), p. 515.

⁴²⁾ W. Gurian, "Lacordaire," *Staatslexikon*, Vol. III, (Freiburg i.B., 1929), col. 729; R. Soltan, "Lacordaire," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. IX, (New York, 1937), p. 9a; cf. J. Pohle, *loc. cit.*, p. 764b.

politique et que Dieu y mène le monde").⁴³⁾ In other words, he was, as Georges Goyau expressed it, "motivated by the desire to serve both the traditional Catholic faith and the new democratic aspirations, and to show the people, now become sovereign, that 'the thought which civilized the Barbarians could still remove chaos from Europe'."⁴⁴⁾ It seems, however, as if he were somewhat unhappy about the emphasis which his friends put on the ability of the religious orders to teach. He feared that it would appear as if the Catholics intended eventually to substitute a teaching monopoly of these religious societies for that of the University. Again and again he stressed the point that it is not enough to strive for and attain "emancipation." Catholics should rather double their efforts in all fields of civilization, especially in the province of science. In view of the fact that they are, for the most part, in the minority, the Catholics must gain esteem through genuine achievements.⁴⁵⁾

Louis Veuillot did not believe that the Church would really benefit by making concessions to liberalism. He was anti-parliamentarian, and, as a friend of Donoso Cortes, who had characterized the bourgeoisie as "the discussing class," he had no taste for debating and arguing.⁴⁶⁾ Yet he was

⁴³⁾ Gg. Bertrin, "Ozanam," *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol. XI, (New York, 1939), p. 378a; cf. also H. Auer, "Ozanam," *Staatslexikon*, Vol. III (Freiburg i.B., 1929), col. 1907.

⁴⁴⁾ *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. XI, (New York, 1937), p. 526b.

⁴⁵⁾ L. A. Veit, *Die Kirche*, loc. cit., p. 243.

⁴⁶⁾ W. Gurian, "L. Veuillot," *Staatslexikon*, Vol. V. (Freiburg i.B., 1932), col. 855.

himself a modern, insofar as he tried to enlist the daily press into the service of Catholicism. In his own paper, *L'Univers*, he fought with great violence for absolute freedom of the schools, tending to cast suspicion upon and decry everybody who did not follow him all the way. In some respects, he suffered the same fate as the Catholic "liberals" whom he stigmatized, in that he too incurred the displeasure of some French bishops (not only the "liberally" inclined or the semi-Gallicans), who regarded him as a lay intruder trying to substitute the pseudo-authority of a journalism posing as a representative of Catholicism, for the official ecclesiastical authority.⁴⁷⁾ The principle of freedom of education is, as L. A. Veit points out, considered in itself, unacceptable for the Catholic Church. To grant that instruction should be free, is equivalent to admitting that truth and error are of equal right. "Where the State exercises a monopoly in education and where it permits error to take its course, there the Catholics may demand freedom of teaching in order to prevent greater harm."⁴⁸⁾ Strangely enough, it was a member of the hierarchy, Bishop Parisis of Langres, who, in a booklet, *Cas de conscience* (1847) in support of Msgr. Dupanloup's demand to establish freedom of education in the secondary schools, insisted on *liberté pour tous*.

(To be continued)

DR. FRANZ H. MUELLER

⁴⁷⁾ W. Gurian, *Ibid.*, col. 853.

⁴⁸⁾ L. A. Veit, *Die Kirche*, p. 243.

The middle class is dying, and with it our civilization is dying too. For the middle class made and, till yesterday, still sustained our culture. I mean by middle class that highly cultivated body of men and women who, until within living memory, gave their tone to most of our Western countries.

This middle class was not, and its relics are not, of course, a closed body. It was continually recruited from those wealthier and those poorer than itself. But the individuals making up this middle class do bear a common and unmistakable character which has been discovered in all high civilizations, which, when it has been permanent for some generations, has certainly been the main value of a cultivated society and has spiritually

molded both those above and those below its standards of wealth.

From that class came in the main the legislators (not the politicians, but those who defined and practiced the law.) From it came the doctors, the scientists, the historians. It gave to its country those creative critics who more than any professional men fix the form of a nation's expression. From that class came those rare but decisive individuals called poets, through whom the soul of society obtains its highest and most lasting expression.

HILAIRE BELLOC
in *Information*¹⁾

¹⁾ Reprinted in *The Herald Citizen*, Nov. 8, 1952.

Book Reviews and Notes

Received for Review

- Mihanovich-Schnepp-Thomas: *Marriage and the Family*. Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, Wisconsin. \$4.25.
- McGrade, Francis: *The Rosary for Little Catholics*. Catechetical Guild Educational Society, St. Paul, Minn. 25c.
- Gales, Father: *A First Life of Christ*. Catechetical Guild Educational Society, St. Paul, Minn. 25c.
- Juliana, Sr. M., O.P.: *Let's Pray*. First Prayers for Little Catholics. Catechetical Guild Educational Society, St. Paul, Minn. 25c.
- Anderson, James Francis: *The Cause of Being. The Philosophy of Creation in St. Thomas*. Herder Book Co., St. Louis, Mo. \$3.25.

Reviews

- Osgniach, Augustine J., O.S.B., Ph.D., *Must It Be Communism? A Philosophical Inquiry into the Major Issues of Today*, with three chapters comprising part four by Jerome L. Toner, O.S.B., Ph.D. Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., New York, 1950. 486 pages \$4.00.

TWO OTHER VOLUMES of Professor Osgniach have inquired into "The Christian State" and "The Analysis of Objects," while the present volume, in the words of the Introduction, has "attempted a philosophical analysis of the social problems," but in addition "to go to the roots of the problems, to have intrinsic and basic causes of social disorders." However, throughout the latter part of the book the positive answer is especially stressed. For it is not enough to understand the causes and the false doctrines of Communism and to expose the stratagems by which it is propagated. The teaching and practice of the Christian way of life must be understood. The author believes "that this philosophical analysis of social and economic concepts will appeal to all intelligent persons who are eager to know the why's of things. . . not only to students in social sciences, but also to persons desirous of self-education and especially to business and labor leaders."

The 25 chapters deal with such topics as the basic questions of the pre-capitalistic social order, individualism and communistic ideals, the dissolution of the guilds, the surplus value theory, abolition of private property, the Christian concept of labor, the social function of the State, the closed shop, etc. The book uses many quotations from reliable sources, provides a fine list of supplementary readings, a glossary of terms, and is well indexed.

JOHN JOLIN, S.J., Ph.D., S.T.L.
Regis College, Denver, Colorado

- Lahey, Rev. Thomas A., C.S.C., Ph.D. *The Children's Friend* (A Life of Christ for Children). B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis, Mo., 1952. 203 pages. \$1.75. *Teacher's Aid* to accompany. 119 pages. \$2.25.

Father Lahey wrote this latest book, *The Children's Friend*, with the purpose of "bringing Jesus to the

children, who will in turn bring Jesus back to the world." The book is an account of the life of Jesus and is written in a style and vocabulary which should appeal to children of eleven and older. A class supplied with the book will become acquainted with the life of Our Lord and will grow to love Him more intimately.

The Teacher's Aid is truly what its name signifies and can be used by all who are concerned about the instruction of the Catholic child whether such persons be priests, teaching sisters and brothers, or parents. The *Aid* supplies the instructor with questions, quotations for memorization or discussion, thoughts, illustrations and explanations for each chapter. Any teacher using this guide will find a wealth of well-organized material on the chief events of the life of Jesus. Although designed for teachers of grades five and above, the book will prove valuable for lower grade teachers because of its treasures of worth-while information. Father Lahey, by means of his book, has tried to bring Christ to the children and he exhorts them to be "missioners of love by learning as much as possible about our Blessed Lord and then spreading the good news to others."

SR. M. BERTILLA, S.S.N.D.
Pico, California

- Garrigou-Lagrange, Rev. Reginald, O.P.: *Life Everlasting*. Tr. by Rev. Patrick Cummins, O.S.B. B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis, 1952. 284 pages. \$4.50.

This is a beautiful book, done from the French into clear, luminous English. The sincere reader will find it interesting. It discusses some of the most salutary truths bearing on the future life in the light of Divine Revelation and theological science. What with prevailing naturalistic and materialistic trends, it is paramount that we reflect on the supernatural and its meaning in our daily lives.

The learned author emphasizes the need of preaching on hell. Christ Himself did not shun this subject. A disinclination to preach on hell is unrealistic and harmful. After all, the fear of hell is prudent and salutary, the beginning of many a conversion. People of all times need mediation on hell. Certainly our generation is no exception.

Father Lagrange's treatment of purgatory is refreshing and stimulating. It spurs one to want to do more for the suffering souls during life's short pilgrimage. The following thoughts of the author are typically provocative: "Mercy on the poor souls will bring us the crowning mercy of a holy death. . . . Souls that escape all purgatory are probably rather rare. Among the good religious known to St. Theresa, only three had completed their purgatory here on earth."

The treatment of heaven with its beatific vision and accidental beatitude is brief and pointed.

Life Everlasting can prove abundantly fruitful read-

ing. But if one is to derive lasting spiritual benefit from its thought-studded pages, he must ponder those thoughts and reflect on them. This should not frighten any one. The thoughts are of such import and gravity as to naturally elicit reflection. The author, well established as a master of the spiritual life, brings his rare talents to the task of treating with an inviting freshness the most salutary truths of our Faith. This precious volume should find its way into the hands of the laity as well as the religious. It has a message of universal appeal.

REV. LUDGER WEGEMER, O.F.M.
St. Louis, Mo.

Christmas Book

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY has just published an unusual Christmas Book—*The Christmas Book* by Francis X Weiser, S.J. (\$3.00). The author, who is active in Central Verein affairs, was born in Vienna, educated in that city, Munich and Rome. He was at one time curate at St. Ann's Church in Buffalo and later became pastor of Holy Trinity (German Catholic) Church in Boston. For five years he was Boston Diocesan Representative of Central European Relief. Since 1949 he has been a professor of German and Philosophy at Emmanuel College in Boston and has done a great deal of lecturing in and around Boston. Father Weiser, now an American citizen, has had fourteen books published in Germany and Austria, and one of them, *The Light of the World*, sold over 126,000 copies and was recommended by the Alpine Society. It has been translated into fourteen different languages. He is an old friend of the Trapp family and his new book is dedicated to the late Georg von Trapp.

The Christmas Book unfolds the story of the celebration of Christmas. Beginning with its gospel and history, the author leads us through the festivities of the middle ages to the decline and eventual revival of Christmas customs in Europe and America. There are many delightful carols from many lands, some familiar and a number of unfamiliar with finger tunes illustrating the least known. There are chapters on St. Nicholas and his spiritual heir, Santa Claus. Christmas breads and pastries are covered in an illuminating and amusing section which includes the evolution of our modern mince pie.

Robert Frankenberg has caught the ageless spirit of the season with 22 lovely illustrations. Mrs. Fulton Oursler wrote the publishers after reading it: "At last the perfect book to explain the true meaning of our Christmas customs. No Christmas book quite like this one. It's a little gem."

Harold C. Gardiner, S.J., literary editor of *America* writes: "Father Weiser has here gathered together an astonishingly larger number of little-known facts about Christmas . . . paraded before the reader in a simple and warm-hearted style. The illustrations accompanying the text admirably fit the charm of the book . . . an ideal item for present-giving."

Clare Boothe Luce writes: "An inspirational and informative Christmas book, charmingly illustrated."

Understanding Europe

A VERY DARK, albeit not hopeless, picture of modern Europe is painted by the eminent English writer, Christopher Dawson, in his latest book, "Understanding Europe," published by Sheed and Ward a few weeks ago.

The present plight of Europe, as Dawson so well points out, is due to its loss of unity. Unlike other older civilizations of the East, such as Egypt or China, Europe has never been a geographical, racial or political unit. Its unity derived from a society of peoples bound together by a spiritual force—a common Christian tradition. Originally it was the Catholic Church which supplied the bond that knit the various European countries into a family of nations.

The remote beginnings of the spiritual disintegration go back to the Renaissance and the sixteenth century Protestant revolt. The immediate causes of Europe's trouble, however, are secularism and an exaggerated nationalism, twin corrosive influences, propagated by the eighteenth century Enlightenment. "On the Continent of Europe, and especially in France," writes Dawson, "the conflict between the movement of the Enlightenment and the forces of tradition . . . was acute."

This conflict, of course, led to the French Revolution, the Reign of Terror and the imperialism of Napoleon. The Napoleonic Empire was a bold attempt to re-establish the unity of Europe. It failed because of a contradiction between the Empire's authoritarianism and the idealism of the Revolution. It only served to intensify the nationalistic feelings of the nations it conquered.

The nineteenth century saw Europe at the height of its external prestige when the world was being transformed by its science, its wealth and its power. But all the while "Europe itself was being torn asunder by the increasing violence of its internal conflicts." This strife "manifested itself in the new phase of war and revolution which has destroyed the European society of peoples and has deprived Europe of its leadership."

The First World War resulted in the destruction of three great military empires of Central and Eastern Europe. "On the ruins of the military empires there arose the new totalitarian States of Soviet Russia and National Socialist Germany, which . . . precipitated a Second World War." More devastating in its effects than the First World War, it not only economically ruined and morally weakened Europe, but cut the continent in two by the new frontier between western Europe and the Communist-controlled East. This is Europe's present sad state, which induces not only its own impoverishment, but the impoverishment of the world, for "Europe has played and still plays an important part in world commerce and industry, and still more in science and thought. . . Its decay would inflict a more serious blow to world civilization than the fall of the Roman Empire.

Dawson does not end on a note of pessimism. Europe's present plight, though serious, is not hopeless. A return to the Christian tradition, based on a revival of true Christian education, would bring about a restoration of unity.

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All correspondence intended for either *Social Justice Review* or the Central Bureau, all missions gifts, and all monies intended for the various projects and Funds of the Central Bureau should be directed to

Central Bureau of the Central Verein
3835 Westminster Place, St. Louis 8, Mo.

Reports and news intended for publication in *Social Justice Review* should be in the hands of the editors not later than the 18th of the month preceding publication.

IMMIGRATION RESEARCH CENTER HONORS DR. KENKEL

IN OUR EFFORTS TO BRING about at least a measure of peace and order in our disorganized world-society, many questions and problems will have to be studied thoroughly in the light of Christian teaching. Foremost among these problems is that of the so-called surplus populations causing political and economic pressures in many countries at the present time. These problems are urgent and cannot be ignored or shunted aside for later consideration. Millions of people are homeless and dispossessed as a result of the Second World War, persecution and various international agreements. Our Holy Father has repeatedly called attention to the plight of these people, pleading for measures that will alleviate their suffering and revive their fading hopes.

A systematic program of migration seems to offer the best possible solution to surplus population problems. For this reason the International Catholic Migration Commission was established over a year ago with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. It is the aim of the Commission to secure the cooperation of various nations in providing a haven of refuge for people who are forced to migrate.

Since the United States occupies an undisputed position of leadership among the free nations, our official attitude toward immigration assumes a tremendous importance. Other nations are profoundly influenced in their policies by what our country does. Yet we have suddenly awakened to the startling fact that a rather unwholesome philosophy has come to influence our

thinking on immigration. Even a cursory examination revealed this philosophy as unrealistic, un-Christian and out of harmony with our American traditions. In consequence, we are hardly qualified to supply that moral leadership in the pursuit of an international effort which is so intimately bound up with the attainment of peace.

Since the problem does not concern a specific law as much as it does the basic thinking underlying our whole immigration policy and practice, many of our Catholic leaders, chief among them Msgr. John O'Grady, reasoned that the time had come for instituting a thorough study of the entire subject of immigration with its many ramifications and allied problems. Thus it was decided at the conclusion of a two day Institute on Immigration, held recently in St. Louis, to establish a center for study and research.

This Catholic immigration research center, the first in the United States, has been placed in the Central Bureau. St. Louis University will cooperate in this enterprise to the extent of stimulating and directing the study and research. In selecting the Central Bureau as the site for the center, Msgr. O'Grady explained that it is to be regarded as a memorial to the late Dr. Frederick P. Kenkel, founder of the Bureau and pioneer sociologist, who had done so much for the spiritual, cultural and economic well-being of immigrants who had come to our country in a former era.

A Most Timely Declaration

THE BISHOP'S STATEMENT this year is both profound and comprehensive. It scores the prevalence of irreligion and Godlessness in private and public life. Our spiritual leaders found it necessary again to point the finger at the deliberate attempts being made to rule God and religion out of various human pursuits, particularly education. As a result, some sharp criticism was directed against the Statement in the name of "separation of Church and State."

Three months prior to the issuance of the Bishops' Statement, the Central Verein adopted a Declaration of Principles on "The School Question." In view of the Bishops' message, the timeliness of the Verein's Declaration is striking. Not only that, but it answers the Bishops' critics in advance. In the immediate future it will be published by the Central Bureau as a pamphlet under the title, "Who Are The Enemies of the Public Schools?" We are happy to give this Declaration in condensed form for the benefit of readers of *SJR*. It reads as follows:

The School Question

(Condensed)

THE ATTACK ON PRIVATE AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

Long, smouldering resentment towards the independent American school, particularly the private and parochial religious schools, broke into the open last April at the Boston meeting of the American Association of School Administrators, a department of the National Education Association (NEA), when leading members of the group attacked these schools as un-American, undemocratic, prejudiced and divisive.

The charges, emanating as they did from an association which includes most of the leading school superintendents of the nation, were shocking indeed. They were made by Dr. James Bryant Conant, President of Harvard University; Dr. Kenneth E. Oberholtzer, President of the AASA and Superintendent of schools in Denver; Dr. Worth McClure, Executive Secretary of the AASA; Dr. Edgar Fuller, Executive Secretary of the National Council of Chief School Officers; Roy E. Larsen, President of *Time* magazine and Chairman of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools.

The remarks of these influential spokesmen in speeches and in a press conference, boiled down to a demand that the public schools be given a monopoly in the field of education, and that the independent, religious schools are "divisive", a threat to democratic unity. The educators' main grievance was summed up as follows by Dr. Fuller: "The non-public schools are increasing; they are divisive and are emotional in their attacks on our public schools. There is our problem."

The 97th annual convention of the Central Verein, while emphatically protesting the position taken by the aforementioned individuals and groups of influential school representatives, deems it important to analyze at some length what some observers have been quick to characterize as the "public vs. the parochial school issue."

"ENEMIES OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS"

First of all, we wish it to be clearly understood that as Catholics we are not "enemies" of the public schools, nor are we to be included among the so-called "fanatics" who seek to "disrupt" the public school system, as was insinuated in a keynote address before the above mentioned AASA convention in Boston. The public schools have been increasingly criticized for some time, not by individuals and groups who aim to undermine or eliminate these schools, but by rank and file Americans whose inalienable rights and responsibilities as parents and as taxpaying citizens demands that they be informed of the true situation regarding the schools and the kind of teaching and policies that prevail in them.

We are aware, of course, that certain "progressivist" tendencies evident today in the public school system of this country are under fire, and that, in various cities, notably Pasadena, Cal., the controversy over "progressive education" in particular has waxed so bitter that terror seems to have seized upon certain educators who, fearful for themselves as well as the public schools, are quick to reject all criticism and put the blame instead upon the old scape-goat, the independent, religious schools. Dr. Conant, though he himself, strangely enough, is head of a non-State-supported school, is one of these. It was he who on April 29, 1951, wrote a glowing review in the *N. Y. Times* of David Hulbard's extremely one-sided and tendentious account of the Pasadena controversy, "This Happened In Pasadena", in which Willard Goslin, ousted "progressivist" superintendent of the Pasadena public schools, is depicted as a great and outstanding school administrator sadly victimized by more or less malicious and anonymous "enemies" of the public schools. It was this book, together with the glowing "imprimatur" of it by Dr. Conant which has been widely disseminated by the NEA and its many powerfully organized components as part of the prodigious printed propaganda favoring the so-called "progressive education".

CATHOLICS ARE NOT ENEMIES OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The Catholic Central Verein reaffirms the fact that American Catholics have never been "enemies" of the public schools as such, though they do favor their own parochial schools for their own children. They want neither to weaken nor get control of the public school system, but they have the right as parents and citizens with thousands of their own children enrolled in these schools to see to it that matters having to do with educational discipline and the lessons learned by children before entering these schools be not simply repudiated and held up to unscientific review and ridicule by various species of pragmatic secularist, progressive, materialistic, atheist or Communist.

THE PROGRESSIVISTS' IDEA OF "UNITY"

But with Dr. Conant and many educators who share his peculiar sentiments, here indeed, if we are to take their words literally, are avowed *enemies* of the traditional American systems of education. By their own words they stand convicted as intolerant fanatics, as avowed foes of a diversified system of education which, until now, was the hall mark of American genius and

reatness. They do not merely criticize certain aspects, courses of study or teaching methods prevalent within our independent, religious schools, but, like Dr. Conant, deplore the very existence of these schools and publicly defame and malign them. In their over-wrought emphasis on unity without diversity, such educators, in conformity with Hitlerism and Bolshevism, revert back to the prevailing concepts of ancient pagan days when, for example, even an Aristotle, in his *Politics*, conceived society to be precisely such an unnatural "unity" as Dr. Conant conceives it, a "unity", to which everything else must be sacrificed, including man's personal liberty and human dignity and destiny.

THE SCHOOLS BELONG TO THE PEOPLE

It is with elements such as these, not with the public school, that we quarrel. It is the professional propagandist, the biased agitator, the radicalist fringe in the powerfully organized and highly vocal educational circles who undermine the public school system, and, in so doing, would subvert and destroy all other American school systems along with it,—it is against these we must be vigilant. We have the positive duty, as parents and as citizens, to watch over the schools as we would watch over our own nurseries. They are co-equally *our* schools, since it is also our taxes that help to support them. They do not belong to a coterie of teachers or educators or politicians; they belong to all the people, and the people have a share in their management and teaching.

THE NEA FIGHTS CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS

But certain educators and groups of educators apparently resent and repudiate such thinking. What they apparently want is a single school system over which they will have sole and undisputed jurisdiction and unquestioned authority and power. At the recent National Education Convention (NEA) in Detroit, the delegates not only went on record in opposing, as usual, all public aid to the private and religious schools, but also heard a proposal by Mrs. Eugene Meyer, a member of President Truman's Commission on Higher Education, favoring the adoption of a Constitutional amendment outlawing any possibility of direct or indirect public aid to these schools. Mrs. Meyer was one of the NEA's featured speakers. As such she left little doubt as to where the NEA stands or the direction in which it is going. She criticized alleged attempts by "paid propagandists" of the Catholic Hierarchy and of "reactionary" Protestants "to force our schools to support sectarian schools whose rapid increase would destroy our secular schools and tear our nation into irreconcilable factions."

AMERICAN LEGION QUESTIONS "PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION"

The Catholic Central Verein fully realizes and sympathizes with the fact that many public school teachers, although increasingly subjugated to the dictates and policies of powerful administrative and educational bodies, have long ago seen the validity of much of the criticism directed against devious educational fads and fashions, but hesitate to speak up lest they be persecuted and maligned as "reactionaries" or even a worse

fate befall them. In their interests too, therefore, the remarks by the NEA's featured speaker in Detroit cannot go unchallenged. Her incredibly narrow and bigoted attack on the private and parochial schools will not sit well with fair-minded Americans nor will it divert the rising tide of criticism of Leftist teachers and teachings within the public schools. This, in fact, was initially demonstrated at the NEA conclave itself when officials of the organization, apparently at the point of censuring the American Legion for a recent article criticizing the NEA in the *American Legion Magazine*, were denied satisfaction by the Legion's national Commander, Don Wilson, and were told publicly that the article "accurately represented the Legion's point of view" and that the Legion "takes full responsibility for the article" (*N. Y. Times*, July 3, 1952).

"PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION" DEFINED

While the foregoing statements represent only a very few of the numerous criticisms directed this year against public school trends, their singleness of thought should suffice to impress itself upon the NEA, the AASA, the POAU group, and various Masonic and kindred organizations, and should serve to demonstrate conclusively that it is by no means the American Catholics, nor the Protestants, nor the American Legion and other civic and patriotic groups which are to blame for the growing criticism of the public schools, but rather the deficiencies and shortcomings of the "progressive" disciples of the late John Dewey and Columbia Teachers College who stubbornly refuse to accept correction or criticism of any kind and apparently imagine that they can continue to ride roughshod over the rights and liberties of the American people.

In the foregoing account we have repeatedly used the term "progressive education" without specifically defining it. We shall define it now. In a series of articles analyzing the problems and dangers besetting American education today, the late Bishop Vincent J. Ryan of Bismarck wrote as follows (in his diocesan paper):

"It should be unnecessary to say that we Catholics are not hostile to the public schools when we build our own schools. As good citizens, as well as good Catholics, we should be interested in the public schools, where most of the Nation's children are being educated. Catholics should be interested in seeing that all the children of the Nation are given the best possible opportunities for right education, even though their own children are in a Catholic school. The friends of education and the friends of the public school do not confine their efforts to words of praise, and neglect to make constructive criticism when these are needed.

"Every American citizen today should show an active interest in our public schools, because of the dangers which threaten them today.

"The greatest enemies of our public schools are a certain powerful group who seek to dominate all education and impose on our schools their own peculiar brand of education. They are the group who seek to screen out all traces of religion. They are the group who oppose released time for the teaching of religion.

"The brand of education they would impose on the American people bears the title 'progressive education'.

The leaders of the so-called progressive educators would do away with competition and grading. The skills which past generations considered basic and necessary are slighted. Slighted also is the great story of our American heritage and our American doctrine of human rights. Certain professors have little respect for the traditions of our country and they look upon American doctrine of human rights as outmoded fiction.

"What the child learns in school is, for them unimportant. The important objective of education, according to these educators who seek to dominate education, is to prepare the child for life in a democratic society, hence their pet phrase 'education for democracy'. By education for democracy it is clear the professors mean education that conditions the child for life in a collective State, which they suppose is just around the corner. Perhaps this is the reason why these educators pass over in their teaching the American doctrine about human rights. It is also perhaps their reason for not developing the competitive instinct in the child. Competition savors of private enterprise; it presents a difficulty in a Socialistic and Communistic State."

"Neither the Catholic group or any Protestant group seek or want a union of Church and State, but the secularists want a union of State and the schools with the return of secularism. Let us hope the American people wake up before it is too late."

"PAINLESS EDUCATION"

Fr. Charles F. Donovan, S.J., head of the department of education at the graduate school of Boston College, points out in the November 3, 1951, *America*, the great damage done to American education not only by Dewey, but by his more extreme followers in the field of "progressive education" who advocate and extend the theory of a "painless education." Thus, for example, homework for the student is considered taboo by the "painless educators", since it interferes with the child's and the family's recreation. So, too, with report cards, which "progressive educators" would like to see abolished, since report cards connote hard work, competition, unpleasant devotion to duty. So, too, with classroom drills, repetition, recitation, memory work—since these all are considered more or less drudgery, as are "spelling bees", vocabulary tests, etc.

THE CROSS OF CHRIST AND "PAINLESS EDUCATION"

Accepting the fact of man's fallen and redeemed nature, the Catholic educator understands and takes into account the truth that 'knowledge maketh a bloody entrance.' That is a fact. Closing one's eyes to it won't alter the fact; it will merely result in no knowledge making an entrance. There is likewise a Christian understanding of self-discipline—not just William James' stoical program of doing something hard to prepare oneself for unexpected hardship—but a recognition that all of us are called to share the Cross of Christ. *The Catholic educator sees (or should see) the danger of giving pupils the impression that there need be no unpleasantness, no hardships, no difficulty, no pain in life.*

Modern education, with its disdain of knowledge laboriously acquired and its admiration for "practical" information on a multitude of useful subjects, leaves

man undeveloped intellectually and spiritually, leaving him mired in superficiality and mental mediocrity,—one of the outstanding characteristics of our time. Standardized smattering and stereotyped knowledge threatens democracy with deterioration and corruption; contempt of tradition and personal responsibility; they provide the raw material for any form of totalitarianism, for monstrous regimes of adventurous maniacs like Adolph Hitler or power-drunk despots like Joseph Stalin.

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS KEPT THE FAITH WITH AMERICA

We strongly recommend, therefore, that all members of the Central Verein, which since its inception has been in the vanguard of the struggle for a sound educational system in America, will study seriously the great and compelling questions and problems in the field of American education today, and will continue with the hard work and special sacrifices demanded of Catholics to preserve and fortify and expand their own parochial schools which have always been a unique citadel of freedom and light for many. Our Catholic schools have held true to the American tradition. They are not divisive nor disloyal. They harbor no Communist teachers, no surreptitious planners. They do not question the right of the State to help educate its citizens within its own particular province, but insist that the Church and the Church school as well as the home also have specific rights and jurisdiction in this matter and that these rights cannot be denied unless the American child is henceforth to become a servile creature of a monolithic, collectivized, and tyrannical State.

CATHOLICS MUST LOOK TO THEIR SCHOOLS

Catholics will look to their parochial schools, therefore, mindful of the fact that although the work and sacrifice of building and maintaining these schools offer a constant challenge to their spirit of initiative, cooperation and good will, nevertheless the results have been and continue to be well worth the effort and will not be overlooked by the Divine Teacher who expressly commanded the Church to "teach all nations" and to "suffer the little ones to come unto Me." We dare not lose sight, furthermore, of our obligation as Catholics to provide not only for the Catholic children who are at present enrolled in our own schools, but also for approximately 2,000,000 others who, according to a statement made to the first National Congress of Religious of the United States by the Papal Delegate Archbishop Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, are still being deprived of a Catholic education because of serious shortages in plant facilities and teacher personnel.

A PRACTICAL PROPOSAL

The Catholic Central Verein, cognizant of Archbishop Cicognani's warning that there are at present only 9,000 Catholic elementary schools as compared with a total of 15,000 individual parishes in this country, calls this problem to the attention of its members and urges them to come to grips with it in the spirit of willing cooperation and vision of their forebears.

Regarding the serious teacher shortage referred to by the Apostolic Delegate, we call to the attention of

ur members the proposal made by Sister M. Patrick of Marygrove College, who, speaking before the same Congress at Notre Dame, set forth the idea of a "share-the-Sisters" movement on a nationwide scale in an effort to ease the teacher problem within our parochial schools. Sister Patrick's proposal amounted to this: to establish a ratio of one lay teacher to four religious teachers in each Catholic school, in order to free some of the teaching Sisters to staff new schools. The plan, already functioning in some American school districts as well as in Canada, not only opens up further possibilities for a purposeful lay apostolate, but, rightly undertaken and understood, might well be an important step in resolving one of the greatest difficulties besetting our schools at the present time.

PROBLEMS MUST BE TACKLED

That these and similar problems will have to be courageously and systematically tackled, both in the private as well as the public schools of the country, must be obvious to all informed observers. In time of World Revolution and World War, when America has been plunged into a position of leadership in the family of nations, our responsibilities as leaders in the vital field of education and Christian culture are immediate and tremendous. If we are destined to lead our confused and war-torn world from intellectual and moral darkness into the full light of a new and more Christian day, then we must concentrate our attention in the schools not merely on the further establishment and maintenance of the physical plants and buildings, but in the first place must bend every effort toward re-assessing, re-orientating, and re-defining our entire program of school curriculum and school pedagogy, to the end that we shall revert to those basic Christian educational objectives which have been in the past the bulwark and genius of America.

German-American Federation Gives Generous Assistance

SOME WEEKS AGO the Central Bureau received a contribution of \$400.00 for German Relief. The generous benefactor is the Federation of German-American Societies of Rochester, New York.

There are many reasons why this kind gesture on the part of the Federation merits special recognition. The Bureau received the contribution without any solicitation on its part, an indication that the members of the Federation are thoughtful of their suffering brethren, and need no prodding. Then too, the Federation has long been known for its generous assistance to the war victims in Germany. It is only human to grow weary in giving. The Central Bureau has noted the decline in contributions for War Relief, due undoubtedly to the fact that the cause has lost its attractiveness with the passage of time. The Federation, on the other hand, continues its generous help, irrespective of the prevailing tendency to grow callous toward the sufferings of people in distant lands.

A gift for German Relief at this time is most opportune. It enables the Central Bureau to add a measure to cheer to hapless victims at Christmastime.

Rev. Edwin P. Fussenegger Honored

AT AN INVESTURE CEREMONY, which took place at St. Paul's Cathedral, Pittsburgh, on October 19, the Reverend Edwin P. Fussenegger received the monsignorial robes, along with seven other priests of the Diocese, and was elevated to the rank of Domestic Prelate.

Monsignor Fussenegger, who is Pastor of St. Basil's church, one of the largest in Pittsburgh, is Spiritual Advisor of Branch 80 of the Knights of St. George. He has long been an active leader in the Central Verein. He was a regular attendant at the national conventions until very recently, when the burdens of his pastoral duties became so heavy that they made it practically impossible for him to be present at the Verein's annual sessions. However, Monsignor Fussenegger's interest in our movement has never waned.

The staff of *Social Justice Review* felicitates Monsignor Fussenegger and wishes him many more years of fruitful service in the priesthood.

Installation Ceremony

IN THE ENSUING WEEKS most of the societies affiliated with the Central Verein will have election of officers. The importance of the various offices should be impressed upon all the members as well as on those elected. Nothing is so well calculated to impress people with an appreciation of the dignity and responsibility which is attached to the offices as a fitting ceremony of installation.

The Central Verein has prepared a special formulary for this purpose. Cards containing this installation ceremony can be obtained from the Bureau at a very small cost. Delegates to the St. Louis Convention will remember how impressive the installation ceremony was rendered through the use of these cards. The best effect is obtained when all members present participate in the ceremony.

Benevolent Society to Observe 94th Anniversary

ST. ALOYSIUS Young Men's Benevolent Society of Utica, N. Y., one of the oldest Catholic sick and death benefit organizations in the country, will celebrate its 94th anniversary Dec. 14. It was organized Dec. 15, 1858. Members will receive Communion at the 7:30 A.M. Mass in St. Joseph's Church. The Very Rev. Cuthbert Dittmeier, O.F.M. Conv., will preach. Andrew Metzger will sing and Prof. Paul McMahon will be at the organ.

The present membership of the Y.M.B.S. exceeds 200, of whom 18 have attained the fifty-year mark.

The St. Aloysius Y.M.B.S. is a member of the Central Verein, having been affiliated September 6, 1885. It became a member of the New York State Branch of the CV, May 30, 1897.

Mr. Charles B. Witte is president; Francis H. Schmaltz, secretary.

State Conventions

New Jersey

THE FIFTY-EIGHTH CONVENTION of the Catholic Central Society of New Jersey was held on Sunday, November 9, 1952, in St. Francis Parish, Trenton. This was the second time this Parish, of which the Reverend Francis J. Yunker is Pastor, has been host to the Convention. The previous visit was in 1934. The New Jersey State Branch of the NCWU convened with the Catholic Central Society.

The program began at 10:00 A.M. in the parish school with Convention Chairman, George M. Zorn, President of St. Francis Pioneer Corps, welcoming the delegates at a joint session of both organizations, after which Stephen M. Diekneit was presented with the Society Banner by Albert L. Neubauer of St. Boniface Parish, Paterson, where the Convention was held last year. Mrs. Louise A. Sand, President of the Catholic Women's Union gave a report on the National Convention held in St. Louis, Mo. State President Harry J. Donohue stressed the necessity of continued cooperation of the pastors whose parishes are affiliated with the organizations, in order to insure the maximum of Catholic Action; he also outlined methods of increasing individual membership.

There were 128 delegates in attendance at the Solemn Mass in St. Francis Church, with the Most Reverend George A. Ahr, Bishop of Trenton, presiding. Rev. Francis J. Porazzo was Celebrant. Priests in attendance in the sanctuary were Rev. Leonard Knaab, Egg Harbor City, and Rev. Paul Huber, O.S.B., Spiritual Director of the New Jersey Branch of the Catholic Women's Union. The sermon was delivered by Rev. William G. Heimbuch, Pastor of St. Michael's Church, Elizabeth, Spiritual Director of the Catholic Central Society. He extolled the activities of the societies and bade them continue perseveringly against Communism; he warned them to beware of the tentacles of secularism reaching into the schools, unions and marriage. His Excellency, Bishop Ahr, addressed the delegates at the Convention Dinner which followed the Mass. The Bishop commended the societies for their zeal in Catholic Action and counseled that they continue their endeavors.

A resolution was adopted favoring the safeguarding of the U. S. Constitution by making it paramount to treaties and other international covenants. Other resolutions objected to certain forms of world-government, socialized medicine, unnecessary rent and price controls and unrestricted immigration. The Convention favored the exposé of Communists in our government, prosecution of the Korean War to a successful issue, alliance with Spain, compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, economy in armament spending and a return to the gold standard.

Lawrence T. Boeglin of Passaic was elected President, succeeding Harry J. Donohue.

Kansas

Members of the Catholic Union of Kansas met for the Forty-first Annual Convention of their Organization in St. Joseph's Parish, Andale, on November 23.

The State Branch of the NCWU held its annual session in conjunction with the Catholic Union.

A day replete with Convention activities began auspiciously with a Solemn Mass celebrated by the Pastor, Monsignor J. A. Klug, V.F. A very edifying feature of the Solemn Mass was the congregational singing of the responses and a motet during the Offertory. The sermon was preached by Rev. Theodor Leutermann, O.S.B., of St. Benedict's Abbey, Atchison. Father Leutermann is well versed in CV affairs and spoke in a manner which both encouraged and inspired the delegates. Bishop Mark K. Carroll, Most Reverend Ordinary of Wichita, presided at the Mass and addressed the delegates at its conclusion.

The Catholic Day celebration began at 1:30 P.M. in the spacious high school auditorium. In addition to Bishop Carroll, the Rev. Victor T. Suren and Mrs. Rose Rohman gave addresses. The Director of the Central Bureau outlined the objectives and function of the Bureau, and was accorded rapt attention by his audience. Mrs. Rohman appropriately spoke of "Woman's Role in Catholic Action." The afternoon program was concluded with annual reports submitted by the Presidents of both the men's and the women's organizations.

Sectional meetings were held during the remainder of the afternoon. The business of the Convention was distributed among eight groups of delegates, called sections. In their individual sessions they prepared suggestions and recommendations, which were submitted to the general business session in the evening for official action.

The general session began at 7:00 P.M. The attendance at all the sessions of the Convention was most gratifying, with approximately two hundred men registered. The evening session in particular showed improvement over other years. A crowded hall heard the recommendations of the sections discussed with conviction and intelligence. Ten resolutions on timely subjects were adopted. New diocesan mission projects for the ensuing year include financial assistance to the Catholic school in Eureka and to St. Joseph's Church in Greensburg.

The progress made by the Kansas State Branch of the CV during the past few years has been nothing short of phenomenal. The reason for this growth is to be found in the high caliber of leadership provided by outstanding laymen, who work seriously under the patronage so generously given by Bishop Carroll. Dr. B. N. Lies was re-elected to the presidency.

Catholic Aid Ass'n. (Minn.) Convention

THE CATHOLIC AID ASSOCIATION of Minnesota held its Sixty-ninth Convention in Loyola School Hall in Mankato on September 22 and 23. Over 300 delegates were in attendance.

In his annual message, Grand President Michael F. Ettel reviewed the progress made by the Aid Association during the past three years, which was evidenced in the increase of 4,709 in the membership. Remarkable gains in assets were also alluded to. It was dis-

used that the Juvenile Convention on June 22 was ended by 96 juvenile delegates.

Societies in the Diocese of Winona had collected \$50.00 toward the purchase of a stained glass window for the new cathedral. To this sum the Association added a gift of \$400. The complete cost of the window was \$2,000.

In a business session after the Mass of Requiem on Tuesday, a proposal was submitted by the St. Michael's Society of Madison, regarding hospitalization insurance; the proposal was referred to the Grand Council for investigation and study.

In submitting a report of the Resolutions Committee, Father Michael Guetter of Lucan gave an impressive discourse on Christian Charity. "We urge the members of the Catholic Aid Association," said Father Guetter, "to continue and renew the spirit of fraternal charity among themselves with the spirit of the Roman Catholic Church."

The Convention adjourned with an Act of Consecration to the Sacred Heart and the singing of "Holy God, we praise Thy Name."

W. C. U. Jubilee Convention

SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO the Western Catholic Union was incorporated in the hall of St. Boniface Parish, Quincy, Illinois. On October 19 of this year, several hundred delegates met in St. Boniface parish to observe the 75th Anniversary of the founding of the WCU.

The Diamond Jubilee Convention opened with a meeting on Sunday morning, October 19, at 8:30, in the Ball Room of the Lincoln-Douglas Hotel. Important messages were delivered by Mr. F. William Heckenroth, past Supreme President, and by Mr. Paul P. Hoegen, Supreme President. From the Hotel the delegates marched in parade to St. Boniface Church where a Solemn Pontifical Mass was celebrated by Bishop John A. O'Connor of Springfield. The festive sermon was preached by the Rev. Jos. H. Winkelmann of Rich Mountain, Mo.

A delightful sightseeing tour was enjoyed by the delegates in the afternoon. The Jubilee Banquet in the evening saw 430 present. The principal address on this occasion was given by the Pastor of St. Boniface, Msgr. J. B. Schnelten.

After the Solemn Mass of Requiem for deceased members, which was celebrated on Monday morning, the Convention was given over completely to business sessions. Mr. Hoegen was elected unanimously to another term as Supreme President. The entire Convention was characterized by a spirit of enthusiasm and wholehearted cooperation.

Central Bureau Visitors

DURING THE PAST MONTH two visitors from far distant countries paid a visit to the Central Bureau. Sister Antonella Marie of the Loretta Sisters consulted the Bureau Director on an immigration problem. Her home is in Shanghai. The other visitor, Mr. George

K. Alapatt, is a native of South India. At the present time he is a student of government at St. Louis University.

Early in Spring, a Sister in charge of Holy Family Orphanage in Tschaunaup, S. W. Africa, asked the Bureau for trousers and shirts for men and boys. Sixteen pairs of trousers and seventeen shirts were immediately forwarded in two cartons. Under the date of September 2, the Sister acknowledged receipt of the shipment and wrote as follows:

"Please accept a hearty *Vergelt's Gott* for the shirts and trousers you sent us. Pater Hyls picked one pair of trousers and three shirts for his own use. The Sister in charge of the children, recently arrived from Europe, was very much pleased to have these articles for the youngsters who tear a lot of clothes, since all the shrubbery around here has thorns. The children must gather their own wood to cook the maize porridge.

"This corner must be the spot of which our good Lord said: 'The earth shall bear thorns and thistles for you,' and then gave it to Cain for punishment. Clothes are very expensive here and the prices are getting higher and higher. Soon we must prepare goat hide with which to cover ourselves."

IN THE GENERAL ELECTION of November 4, the State of California approved overwhelmingly a proposition for tax exemption for elementary and secondary schools operated by religious or other non-profit or charitable organizations. California was the only state in the Union which imposed such a tax.

The State Legislature, by a vote of 108 to 3, passed a law in 1951, exempting non-profit, religious-sponsored elementary and secondary schools from taxation; Governor Earl Warren signed the measure. However, a referendum blocked the law. The referendum was instigated by an organization using the name "California Taxpayers' Alliance" which had been defunct 18 years.

Leading the fight for the tax exempt proposition were "Californians for Justice in Education," headed by Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, war hero of the Pacific. They had the endorsement of State chairmen of both the Democratic and Republican parties, and of labor, veterans' and business organizations and leaders, as well as many non-Catholic church groups.

As a result of its passage, tax exemption will remove an added burden from 534 Catholics, 326 Protestant and 3 Jewish schools with more than 182,000 pupils, and from 58 schools for handicapped children. In the campaign for the proposition's passage, it was noted that these schools save California taxpayers about \$41 million each year.

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Donations to Central Bureau

Previously reported: \$5,060.65; Joseph Schrewe, Ore., \$10; Rev. Paul Huber, O.S.B., Del., \$1; Mrs. Hickert, Kans., \$1; Sgt. Michael Bubick, N. J., \$5; Chicago District League NCWU, Ill., \$5; German Catholic Federation of California, \$3; New Jersey Branch NCWU, \$5; Catholic Central Society of New Jersey, \$150; Mrs. Math Lies, Kans., \$10; Richard F. Hemmerlein, N. Y., \$25; Sundry minor items, 50c; Total to and including November 20, 1952, \$5,276.15.

Chaplains' Aid Fund

Previously reported: \$260.56; St. Francis de Sales Benevolent Society, St. Louis, \$6.67; CWU of New York, Inc., N. Y., \$25; St. Louis & County District League, Mo., \$5.14; Total to and including November 20, 1952, \$297.37.

St. Elizabeth Settlement

Previously reported: \$10,926.90; Friend, \$5; Friends, Mo., \$25; Interest Income, \$40.57; From children attending, \$1,648; Total to and including November 20, 1952, \$12,645.47.

European Relief

Previously reported: \$592.00; Miss M. Buggle, Mo.,

\$30; Ph. W. Kleba, Mo., \$10; Total to and including November 20, 1952, \$632.00.

Catholic Missions

Previously reported: \$4,676.31; Medical Mission, O. Lady of Sorrows Parish, St. Louis, \$5; CWU of New York, Inc., N. Y., \$15; Agnes and Ann Winkelmann, Mo., \$10; Sisters of Loretto, St. Louis, \$25; N. M. Michigan, \$331.20; St. Elizabeth Guild, New York, N. Y., \$55; Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Miller, Minn., \$2; Frieda Thiemet, Mo., \$6; Monastery of Our Lady Charity, Green Bay, Wis., \$5; St. Francis College, P. Wayne, Ind., \$25; Miss M. Buggle, Mo., \$110; George Martinka, Canada, \$10; NCWU State Mission Guild, Mo., \$20; A. J. Loeffler, Minn., \$23; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Jos. A. Vogelweid, Mo., \$207; Franciscan Sisters, St. Louis, \$28; Total to and including November 20, 1952, \$5,576.51.

Gifts in Kind

were received from the following men and organizations of men up to and including November 20, 1952.

WEARING APPAREL: Johnson-Stephens Shinkle Shoe Co., St. Louis, (156 prs. new shoes); Knights of St. George, Indianapolis, Ind., (32 ctr. clothing); J. F. Kuehn, Minn., (men's clothing).

BOOKS: Rev. A. Stumpf, Mo., (5 booklets); Arnold Winkelmann, Ill., (2 books).

MAGAZINES & NEWSPAPERS: Knights of St. George, Pittsburgh, Pa., (magazines); N. M. Mo., (magazines).

MISCELLANEOUS: S. Stuve, Mo., (miscellaneous articles); J. F. Kuehn, Minn., (suitcase).